GEORGE, DELLUMS, HOUSING MEASURES TRIUMPH SEE PAGE 5

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

copyright © 1976 by Huey P. Newton VOL. XV NO. 30 SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1976 25¢



B.P.P. Gives Away 1,000 Bags Of Free Groceries

RON DELLUMS: "WAKE UP BLACK AMERICA, 1976"



BPINS photos



Over 1,500 West Oakland residents were absolutely delighted (left) by the 1,000 bags of free groceries passed out by the Black Panther Party and the George for Supervisor campaign. ELAINE BROWN (above, center) is thanked by a very grateful elderly sister for being one of the main organizers of the successful event.

(Oakland, Calif.) — The Black Panther Party and the John George for Supervisor campaign got together to distribute 1,000 free full bags of groceries to registered voters at McClymonds High School in West Oakland last Saturday, and before it was over folks were dancing in the aisles.

It was one of the most "down home" and spirited campaign rallies this city has seen — marked with lively political speeches by Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown, John George, candidate for the Alameda County Board of Supervisors, Fifth District, United Farm Workers Vice President Delores Huerta and Congressman Ron Dellums, who electrified the crowd with a rousing address, "Wake Up Black America."

Yet despite its timely political significance — it was held a mere four days before the November 2 elections — the main focus was the free groceries, and for that occasion over 1,500 people came over to the McClymonds High auditorium for the afternoon affair.

Recognizing this essential fact, the speakers were all brief and to the point, for which the audience responded with a showering of cheers and applause.

OCCUR Executive Director Paul Cobb started things off by "introducing you to the woman that made this all possible" — Elaine Brown.

Indeed, Elaine and the staff of the Black Panther Party Free Food Program had worked hard since the distribution of 500 free bags of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

CENTRAL DISTRIBUTION
8501 E. 14TH STREET
OAKLAND, CALIF. 94621

Editorial

"TEAM" VICTORY

It was said by Congressman Dellums as an afterthought but it was one of the most significant comments of the evening:

"The establishment likes to play games. Once we start putting some progressive people in office, they want to call it a machine — we call it a team. Now there are teams that play games for people and there are teams that work for people. We are the latter. We reject game playing. We are going to help people understand that the John Georges, Tom Bates, Ron Dellumses and others in this community are not political hacks, but a new breed of people who understand the need for change in this country."

There are several points in Dellums' remarks that can be focused upon for closer examination, one of which is the progressive "team" that is coming together in this East Bay community — "an oasis of civiliation," as John George puts it — that defies both national trends and the rank compromises that have given the word "politics" such a bad reputation over the years.

Mindful of accusations of regional chauvinism, the positive outcome of these local elections (see page 5) provides positive proof that this area has a rare and meaningful vitality going for it — the potential for concrete social change — that other communities seem to lack. Where else, for example, could over 1,500 people, more or less affiliated with the Democratic Party, celebrate at a victory party without a single poster or even a button mentioning the name of the arch-hypocrite, Jimmy Carter?

But what is it that has marked the development of this "new breed of people," both politicos and others, that differentiates this area? There's the influence of the Black Panther Party, no doubt, since this is indeed the Party's base of operations. But it's more than that. There are the factors of repression and oppression, and more importantly, the people's response.

One word of warning, however: the fascists, the right wingers, the conservatives, don't like what we're doing, don't like it one bit. They'll try to stop us, "now more than ever." Yet through unity, vigilance and constant struggle — the creative response to the new situation — our "team," this "new breed" of humanity, is implacable.□



THEY DON'T WANT YOUR DAMN-FOOL PLAN. OUR TIME IS RUNNING OUT!

Letters to the Editor

Position Paper From The Maryland Penitentiary Intercommunal Survival Committee

To THE BLACK PANTHER Editorial Staff:

Since the staff at the Maryland Penitentiary has become overwhelmingly "Black," conditions in general have drastically deteriorated. Ironically, it was the prisoners themselves who demanded "more Black guards" because they strongly believed they could relate better to Black guards and would thus receive humane treatment. Of course, such a demand arose out of the increasing Black prisoner population. Now, satisfaction of this demand has proven, in practice, to be an illusion, a nightmare, and prisoners suffer despair and hoplessness. For now, these so-called "Black correctional officers" are more brutal and sadistic than the previous predominantly White staff.

Institutionalized racism manifests itself in two distinct forms within the prison regime: one form is overt and glaring while the other form is subtle and nearly imperceptible.

The overt form prevails among the White officials and their subordinates from the governor's office to the guard in the prison compound, many of whom are members in good standing of the Ku Klux Klan. In fact, prisons, like police departments, have proven to be fertile ground for infiltration of Klansmen and their like towards the realization of their racist ideology.

On the other hand, that subtle form of racism, that which is nearly imperceptible, thus, difficult to isolate, pinpoint and confront, prevails among Black officials from the highest to the lowest levels of rank. That renowned Black psychiatrist Frantz Fanon calls this form of racism "Black Skin, White Mask."

Despite the fact that a great many of Black guards and prisoners come from the same community, even the same neighborhoods, the lack of identity is astonishing. For the Black guard is much less sensitive to the pleadings of Black prisoners and more zealous in brutalizing and torturing Black prisoners than their White counterparts. Self-hatred and obedience to the slavemaster are obvious. But this situation — permeated with racism — must be seen in a much broader context and by design of the status quo.

This current scheme of things is what the great Dr. Kwame Nkrumah called "Neo-Colonialism, the Highest Stage of Imperialism," where "Toms" appear to be in control of the colony when in actuality they are mere polished slaves-puppets dangling on the strings of the slavemaster-flack catchers, apologists, cannonfodder! Some comparisons drawn from around the world may serve to clarify this a bit without going into the political, economical and social mechanizations of such a design.

In Vietnam, just prior to the success of total national liberation, Thieu was the puppet who aided in the perpetuation of Vietnamese fighting and killing Vietnamese; in Angola it was Jonas Savimbi and Holden Roberto who perpetuated Angolans fighting and killing Angolans. Such a situation currently prevails throughout South and Central America in the form of fascist military dictatorships; in Korea, it's Pak Jung Hi. Domestically, to draw from the Native American colony, Harold Wilson of Wounded Knee was a puppet. And

CONTINUED ON PAGE

COMMENT

Becomin' "First Class" Citizens In Mississippi Delta

The following is the conclusion of the story of Hartman Turnbow, a Black rural farmer, who tells a true life experience of the coming of the civil rights movement to his Mississippi Delta community. Written by Haynes Johnson, this article is reprinted from the Washington Post.

CONCLUSION

"Hit was right funny, I said, 'yes, gonna be a lot of headwhuppin' in this thing now,' cause you know what we're fixin' to try out.

"It was about 70 of us was going?' We said we come to redish (register) to vote. Was right funny. Out of 70 only 20 showed up. So us 20 said we're goin'. We don't care what it cost.

"We left our cars on the outer edge of town so they can't say we parked wrong or done nothin.' Now, I said, 'let's walk in twos, in a couple of two.' So they cain't say we was ganging the street, cause they're gonna hunt something to put us in jail for.

"So we went on there walking two by two and we met Mr. Sheriff, Mr. Andrew Smith. He was the first one we met. He said, 'Where in the hell is you all going'? We said we come to redish to vote. We had John Ball, he was a-leadin' us. He had on a straw hat.

Mr. Andrew Smith grabbed his pistol and his blackjack, and drawed back. I stepped out of line, told him, 'Say, Mr. Smith, we only come to register to vote. That's all we want.' He wouldn't hit them then. He says, 'Well you all go 'round there to the north door and stop there under that tree.'

"We went on there to the north door of the courthouse and we stopped under the tree and he came 'round there. He looked at us, all huddled up there, 20 of us under that tree. He slapped one hand on his pistol, the othern on his black jack. He said, "All right now, who'll be first?"

"Them guys commenced lookin' at one another right fast. They was fixin' to run. I knowed what they was gonna do. I told him, 'Yeah, I'll be first Mr. Smith.'

" 'All right, Turnbow.' He

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

THE BLACK PANTHER
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, 8501 EAST 14th STREET, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94621, TELEPHONE: (415) 638-0195.
YEARLY DOMESTIC SUBSCRIPTION RATES: $10.00
SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

NEW YORK CITY

Justice Dept. Probes "Black Bag" Operations Against B.P.P.

(New York, N.Y.) - Justice Department sources have indicated to the *Los Angeles Times* that investigators are probing unlawful FBI burglaries and other illegal activities against the Black Panther Party in the New York area.

According to reporter Charles Powers, writing in last Thursday's *Los Angeles Times*:

"The Justice Department is widening its investigation into possible illegal activities of agents in the FBI's New York field office.

"The inquiry, it was learned Wednesday from sources close to the investigation, is focusing on possible illegal entries and wiretaps of the Black Panther Party and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. . .

"Justice Department sources had indicated last month that they were checking into possible burglaries of Black Panther facilities in recent years in the San Francisco area. But this is the first indication that investigators were probing such activities against the Panthers in the New York area. . ."

SQUAD 47

The Justice Department probe is part of an inquiry initiated several months ago, when a team of prosecutors began to check into the methods of a special unit of the FBI's New York office, known as Squad 47.

Squad 47 — now disbanded, with 44 former agents in the unit having been given limited immunity from prosecution — was assigned to investigate the Weather Underground and other radical activities.

"In return for the grants of immunity," the *Times* reports, "the agents were reportedly expected to discuss with the prosecutors the origin of their orders, indicating that the investigation was turning toward the FBI's higher-level offices. The men given immunity were all 'street agents,' lowest in the chain of command in the organization."

The new inquiry is evidently aimed at the activities of an FBI unit designated Squad 48, which had among its targets the Black Panther Party. □

500 JAM RICHMOND CITY COUNCIL TO DEMAND AN END TO POLICE BRUTALITY



BPINS photo

A member of a Black motorcycle club, The Scorpions, displays gashes received from recent Richmond police beating. Rev. FRANK PINKARD blasted the Richmond City Council for its lack of concern over growing police violence.

(Richmond, Calif.) - Close to 500 Black, Chicano and poor White residents turned out at a Richmond City Council meeting last week to protest rising incidents of police brutality. The crowd threatened decisive and swift action, possibly in the form of an economic boycott, if their immediate demands were not met. Organized by a diverse collection of community groups and individuals, the demonstration left a stunning impact on the Richmond city government and its officials.

The coalition which organized the demonstration included the Donyale McCollins Defense Committee, HELP, the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, the NAACP, and the Nation of Islam. Representatives from THE BLACK PANTHER also attended several organizing meetings.

Special creidt should go to the Donyale McCollins Defense Committee and HELP for refusing to let the issue of police abuse die away after two recent incidents. Earlier this summer 15-year-old Donyale McCollins, a young Black woman, was beaten, stomped and kicked by a White Richmond police officer. HELP was formed after Richmond and San Pablo police attacked the home of a Chicano family where a party was being held on August 23 of this year.

With these two groups as a nucleus, U.P. (United People) was formed to attack the problem of police abuse. At last week's Council meeting Rev. James King opened the group's well-organized presentation by briefly explaining the history and purpose of the U.P. coalition.

Then the well-known and respected Rev. Frank Pinkard, acting as chief spokesperson for the evening, proceeded to blast the Richmond City Council's refusal to act on the problem of police abuse.

"Since the age of five," Rev. Pinkard said, "I have lived with continual harassment from police and insensitivity from elected officials. As a preacher," he went on, "I have had too many complaints from parishioners about police abuse."

The meeting began to take on the atmosphere of a Sunday church meeting as Pinkard literally preached to the Council, stating:

"If the City Council does not act, we will speak to you from the ballot box. . .We will not burn Richmond but we will control it and set it right."

If immediate action by the Council was not taken, said Pinkard, the coalition would begin an economic boycott. Pinkard called the huge gathering at the meeting "an exercise of democracy in its truest form."

Five specific demands which were presented to the Council were:

1. Public hearings on the problems of police abuse;
2. An end to the destruction of police records dealing with brutality incidents;
3. A new community-controlled police review procedure;
4. Making public police standards of conduct; and
5. An end to arbitrary, racist checks on Spanish-speaking citizens.

With regard to the demand dealing with the destruction of police records, Tom Powers representing the West Contra Costa County Bar Association,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

Fallen Comrade

SIDNEY MILLER

Assassinated:

November 7, 1968



Comrade Sidney Miller, from the Seattle Chapter of the Black Panther Party, was murdered on November 7, 1968, by a racist Seattle businessmen. Murdered just 21 days after Seattle police shot down Welton Armstead, another member of the Seattle BPP Chapter, Sidney Miller was shot point blank in the head as he was leaving a West Seattle grocery store. His murderer claimed he thought Sidney was about to rob his store. Long Live the Spirit of Comrade Sidney Miller! Long Live The People's Struggle!!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

O.C.L.C.: A HAVEN FOR THE BLACK COMMUNITY

The following is Part 2 of a BLACK PANTHER series of articles on the Oakland Community Learning Center (OCLC), whose wide variety of free educational, cultural and social programs has made it a haven for the Black community of East Oakland.

PART 2

(Oakland, Calif.) — One of the reasons why the Oakland Community Learning Center is so highly respected is that it provides a wide variety of services and activities for local residents, young and old, to become involved in.

In addition to the George Jackson People's Free Medical Clinic, the Seniors Against A Fearful Environment (S.A.F.E.) Club, the Legal Aid and Educational Program, the Adult Education Program, the Free Employment Program and the Free Film Series (see last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER), other OCLC Programs include:

•*Sports Program* — Martial arts, track, basketball, baseball and soccer are all a part of the OCLC Sports Program. The largely youthful participants in the Sports Program, often coached by well known sports personalities who volunteer their services, periodically compete against local schools and teams. Students in the All-Open Martial Arts Program have participated in numerous local and statewide matches, and have won several honors.

•*Teen Program* — The OCLC Teen Program is highly popular with Black and poor youth in East Oakland, since the Learning Center is the only place they have to go for after school hours recreation and socializing. Members of the Swingers Teen Club initiate their own activities, which include skating, bowling, dances, parties, photography classes and rap sessions. The teens sponsor fund raisers like bake sales to secure money for their activities.

•*Sunday Community Forum* — Each Sunday at 4 p.m. the OCLC hosts the Community Forum which features messages by community activists and leaders and top-flight entertainment by local and well-known performers. An excerpt from the Forum's Statement of Purpose says:

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20





BPINS photos

Two Oakland Community Learning Center activities: African Liberation Day Celebration (top photo) and a jam-packed teen dance.

S.A.F.E. Club Sponsors Lively Halloween Party





(Oakland, Calif.) - Last week, the S.A.F.E (Seniors Against A Fearful Environment) Club sponsored a lively Halloween Party for the residents of East Oakland's Lakeside Apartments senior home. Activities for the evening included music and dancing, card games, checkers, dominoes, and bingo. Over 60 seniors attended the event, enjoying the good times and good food that was provided. BPINS photos

THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

November 1, 1787

On November 1, 1787, the first free school in New York City, the African Free School, opened.

November 7, 1841

On November 7, 1841, there was a slave revolt on the slave trader ship "Creole" which was en route from Hampton, Virginia, to New Orleans, Louisiana. The slaves overpowered the crew and sailed the vessel to the Bahamas where they were granted asylum.

November 2, 1875

"The Mississippi Plan" was implemented soon after the defeat of the Reconstruction government by Southern bigots in the Mississippi state elections on November 2, 1875. The plan included staging riots, political assassinations and massacres. Social and economic intimidation was used later to overthrow the Reconstruction governments in South Carolina and Louisiana.

November 5, 1935

November 5, 1935, was the beginning of the Swing Age, the start of the commercial success of the "Big Band" sound. The late thirties were the heyday of the big bands of Chick Wells, Amy Kirk, Cab Calloway, Count Basie, Jimmie Lunceford and Duke Ellington.

November 5, 1968

A record number of Black congressmen, nine, were elected to the House of Representatives on November 5, 1968. The previous high was seven during Reconstruction years.

November 2, 1971

The Black Congressional Caucus and other Black political leaders issued a call for a national Black political convention on November 2, 1971, in Washington, D.C. The goal of the convention would be to persuade the major political parties to develop programs to meet the needs of Black people.

GEORGE, DELLUMS, MEASURES P, Q AND R IN EAST BAY TRIUMPH

(Oakland, Calif.) — Showcasing victories for John George, Ron Dellums and Measures P, Q and R, voters in this East Bay community went solidly Progressive (with a capital "P") in last Tuesday's elections.

It was a festive crowd of close to 1,000 that turned out at the Colombo Club in North Oakland early last Tuesday evening to catch the election results with their favorite candidates. And the crowd had reason to be pleased since (with 99 per cent of the votes cast):

•John George, a skilled Oakland Black lawyer, swamped BART's top cop William Rumford to capture the Alameda County Board of Supervisor's 5th District seat, 52,419 to 31,945, becoming the Board's first Black member;

•Ron Dellums handily won re-election over his Republican opponent in the 8th Congressional District 97,711 to 39,917;

•Measures P, Q and R, holding out the promise of 3,700 housing units to low-income and senior citizens, all passed, the lowest margin of victory being over 23,000 votes;

•Tom Bates, a popular White Supervisor captured the 12th Assembly District race;

•John Miller easily won re-election in the 13th Assembly District;

•Valerie Raymond joined John George on the Alameda County Board of Supervisors by a narrow decision, becoming the first woman in that post.

PHENOMENA

An interesting phenomena occurred at the Colombo Club. As John George mentioned the many people and supporters who helped carry him to victory, he mentioned in particular "my many thanks to the Black Panther Party." The ovation was tremendous, and an overwhelming indication of the growing political influence — and recognition of that influence — of the BPP.

On the other side of the Bay, the majority of San Francisco's voters responded to the grassroots cry and surprisingly endorsed Proposition T, a popular measure to establish district elections for the city's Board of Supervisors and abolish the at-large races.

The mood throughout the rest of the state and, in fact, the entire country was markedly Conservative (with a capital "Right-Wing"):

•Despite a "people's campaign" replete with hundreds of volunteers, Propostion 14 lost, 69 per cent to 31 per cent, in an

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25







JOHN GEORGE (top photo) and RON DELLUMS (bottom, inset) were jubilant victors at this week's campaign victory party at North Oakland's Colombo Club.

"Niggers And Other Agitators" Barred At Carter Church

(Plains, Ga.) - As it was in 1965, so it shall be in 1976, according to the board of deacons at the Plains Baptist Church, the church normally attended by Democratic Presidential nominee Jimmy Carter, whose interpretation of the gospel — "niggers and other civil rights agitators" need not apply — comes through in the manner of burning a cross on the lawn in front of the gates of Heaven.

Services were cancelled at the Plains Baptist Church last Sunday, when a Black minister, the Rev. Clennon King, sought to test the deacons' Whites-only membership policy a mere three days before the national elections.

DIVINE MISSION

Minister of the nondenominational Divine Mission Church in Albany, 40 miles away, the Rev. King came to the rural Baptist church in Plains with two Black women and a child only to be turned away by Carter's pastor, the Rev. Bruce Edwards.

Rev. Edwards told Rev. King — and the accompanying entourage of reporters — that the church deacons had voted the previous Tuesday to deny the membership application and cancel services if King appeared.

Rev. Edwards said he was unable to persuade the deacons to do anything at their Tuesday meeting but reaffirm the 1965

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25





African Folk Tales At Sunday Forum

(Oakland, Calif.) - THE UNITED PROJECTS CHILDREN'S THEATER COMPANY (above) came to the Oakland Community Learning Center last Sunday to the delight of the many children attending the OCLC Community Forum.

The company, directed by Sati Jamal, performed two African folk tales, "Mr. Hare and Mr. Leopard" and "The Man Who Loved To Laugh," both of which related timely moral principles to young and old alike. All the proceeds from the event went to the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). On hand to speak about the Zimbabwean people's struggle was Prosper Takawere from the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA).

Also, the monthly Oaklalnd Community School Donation Drawing was held and two of the 10 lucky winners, first place winner JAMES WILLIAMS and fifth place winner HELENA SHEPPARD (left) were on hand to receive their prizes.

BPINS photos



Speakers at last week's John George rally at McClymonds High in West Oakland (left to right): PAUL COBB, ELAINE BROWN, JOHN GEORGE, DOLORES HUERTA, RON DELLUMS and Mrs. MATTIE SHEPHERD.

RON DELLUMS: "WAKE UP BLACK AMERICA 1976"

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

groceries, again at McClymonds, on October 9. Saturday's event was both well-planned and well-organized, an accomplishment the community obviously appreciated.

Elaine's message was brief: "Make a decision," she said, "to vote, to decide for yourselves just this small part of our lives."

Next came John George, who began by anouncing that he has "always been an enthusiastic, 100 per cent supporter of Elaine *Brown and the Black Panther* Party.

"We're got to get up, get out and get going," George declared to the crowd's cheers. "We are building to elect me in November and a new mayor (of Oakland) next year." When he finished speaking, several in the crowd left their seats to shake the popular Black lawyer's hand before he left the stage.

"YES ON 14"

Urging a "Yes on Proposition 14," Dolores Huerta reminded the crowd that the very food they had come to receive was picked by oppressed and underpaid farmworkers, now seeking their rights to union elections.

Ms. Huerta told the audience that following the passage of Proposition 14, the UFW wanted to strengthen its activities in other areas, such as in Florida, where over 50 per cent of the workers are Black. When she ended, Ms. Huerta led the crowd in shouts of "Viva La Huelga" ("Long live the Strike"); "Abojo Racism" ("Down with Racism"); and "Si se puede" "It can happen").

Congressman Dellums, himself up for re-election in the 8th Congressional District, literally turned the crowd out, with his eloquent speech.

He said:

"I'm here today to give the same message I've been trying to tell people all over this country — Wake Up Black America in 1976.

"We still live in a nation at war in terms of being more concerned with killing, death and destruction than building a way of life for our people — Wake Up Black America in 1976.

"We still live in a nation at war in terms of being more about selling weapons then giving food for hungry people — Wake Up Black America in 1976.

"In 1976, we still live in a nation where high unemployment is rampant, where poverty, hunger, disease, racism, sexism and fascism are real — Wake Up Black America in 1976. . .

"You and I have a responsibility. If we do in fact elect Jimmy Carter, let Black America say, 'Jimmy Carter, if you don't take care of business for our people, we will make your life miserable for the next four years.'

"I would ask you to return me to the House of Representatives and turn Gerald Ford out of the White House — Wake Up Black America in 1976.

"We have a brother in the community of Oakland who has paid some heavy dues, a beautiful brother, John George. Right now, we have no Blacks on the Alameda County Board of Supervisors — Wake Up Black America in 1976.

"We have the United Farm Workers, Black and Brown, working hard in the fields, oppressed by the power of money in this country, by the power of money in this state. All over this community, let go to the polls on November 2 and overwhelmingly adopt Proposition 14 — Wake Up Black America in 1976.



Participants at the rally receive free groceries (left) and dance in the aisles (right) to the music of the "Urban Renewal Band."



Happy recipient of free groceries from the Black Panther Party Free Food Program, leaving John George campaign rally.

"It is time for Black people to understand that as we move from the streets, where we were protesting, to the sophisticated halls of politics, we've lost our movement. It is now time to regain our movement.

"Let us tell those people to whom we give our votes that, 'We don't give our votes because you shake our hand.' 'We give our votes to take care of some business for our people' — Wake Up Black America. . .

"We're not going to turn the world around on November 2, but let America know that Black people are on the streets again; that we're out there struggling again; that we will build our movement again; that we're organizing other people again — Wake Up Black America in 1976.

"Black folks are getting ready to move."

It didn't take much for the dynamic Urban Renewal Band to get the crowd dancing in the aisles and in front of the stage area; people were still on the feet applauding Dellums' speech into the groups second number.

The free food distribution itself had to have been seen to be believed — and was best summed up by one elderly woman who, clutching her bag of groceries, remarked to a friend: "Thank you, Mr. Black Panthers. Thank you, Mr. George."□

N.Y. School Officials Fail To Implement Bilingual Ed.

(New York, N.Y.) — The Board of Education and the School Chancellor of New York City, Irving Anker, were ruled in contempt of court last week for having "failed steadily and repeatedly to exercise their power" to establish a meaningful bilingual educational program for Spanish-speaking children.

The contempt ruling by Judge Marvin Z. Frankel criticized the school authorities for acting too slowly but refrained from setting any immediate penalties, which could be ordered if the school board refuses to carry out the bilingual program, reports the *New York Times*.

Frankel was acting on a complaint by several Puerto Rican activist groups, led by Aspira, who demanded that school officials comply completely with a 1974 agreement to improve the education of Spanish-speaking children who had difficulty with English.



New York school officials have neglected the education of these Puerto Rican children.

In his decision Frankel declared, "They (school officials) failed steadily and repeatedly to exercise their power and authority, so that those they controlled would proceed promptly and in good faith to accomplish the tasks commanded by the consent decree.

"This failure," he continued, "reflected their own lack of concentrated good will to achieve substantial compliance."

Aspira had asked Frankel to order the school authorities to "purge themselves of contempt by carrying out the bilingual program completely."□

MOLOTOV COCKTAILS THROWN INTO SOUTH BOSTON H.S. — FIND DYNAMITE AT CHARLESTOWN HIGH

(Boston, Mass.) - Black students here are still subjected to ongoing racial violence as antibusing forces continue to oppose court-ordered school desegregation.

In an incident last week at South Boston High School, 22 White students were arrested during a one-day school boycott when several Whites threw Molotov cocktails through school windows. The bombs did not ignite. Six unignited cocktails were found in one classroom.

At Charlestown High, a half-pound stick of dynamite that failed to go off was found on the school's front steps.

In one of the most serious outbreaks, the *Guardian* reports that recently White students massed in front of Hyde Park High School and stoned Black students as they arrived by bus. The situation exploded into full-scale violence as Whites began to attack Black motorists in the area, stoning them and pulling them from their cars.



Boston police push White students into police van during recent disturbance created by the city's antibusing forces at South Boston High School.

When police finally dispersed the fighting Black and White factions, seven people were injured and 11 arrested. Classes at Hyde Park were then suspended for two days.

FACULTY SENATE

The school's faculty senate chairman, Hugh Mullen, said he believed that the disturbance was previously organized, like most other racial outbreaks which have been occurring for the past three years in the Boston school system.

An underlying cause for this ongoing violence has been the repeated denial of Black demands for greater protection of Black students in Boston's public schools. For example, members of the Boston Public Schools Crisis Intervention teams, have repeatedly been refused access to South Boston High School.

On September 21, a request for placing federal marshals in the school was rejected. The request was made by Roxbury's Freedom House Coalition, a major force in the pro-desegregation movement.

On September 23, U.S. District Court Judge Arthur W. Garrity blasted the Boston School Department for increasing school assignments to South Boston High School. Garrity remarked that such assignments could lead to overcrowding and even more violence.

Garrity barred any increase in student enrollment at the school and also refused to set a timetable for his withdrawal from the day-to-day overseeing of school affairs.

While the violence continues, the White segregationist organization ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), is organizing a city-wide tax revolt, falsely blaming the city's largest property tax increase ever, 25 per cent, on school busing. Also, for the first time, ROAR has elected representatives to court-ordered parent councils in an attempt to disrupt the councils' function in facilitating desegregation.

Boston Mayor Kevin White and school superintendent Marion Fahey have seemingly joined ROAR's false tax reform campaign by proposing more than $15 million in budget cuts. Among the cuts is the elimination of bus monitors to protect Black students. Furthermore, White sent out letters with tax bills blaming increases on "school costs."

By electing representatives to court-ordered Parents' Advisory Councils (PAC) on local neighborhood and city-wide levels, ROAR is struggling to regain its fast fading credibility.

ROAR had boycotted the Councils since they were started in 1974 by federal Judge Arthur Garrity but ROAR leader James Kelley stated, "We gave this careful thought, and decided this year to try and destroy them (the Councils) from within."□

High Point 4 Member Released

(Mocksville, N.C.) - After serving more than six years on a seven to 10-year trumped-up assault charge, Black Panther Party member Randolph Jennings, 23, was released on October 21 from Mocksville Maximum Security Prison here. Jennings, falsely convicted in 1971 on charges of assault with intent to kill a police officer and conspiracy to commit murder, was a member of the "High Point 4," a case widely known throughout North Carolina at that time.

Jennings and three former Black Panther Party members successfully organized a Free Breakfast for Schoolchildren Program and a free transportation service for children at the Party's branch in High Point, North Carolina, eight miles outside of Winston-Salem. The Party's organizing efforts in High Point were sabotaged by the FBI's COINTELPRO operation, which, in collaboration with local police, intimidated supporters of the BPP programs.

On February 10, 1971, FBI agents and police raided and shot up the High Point office. Three police officers and one Party member were seriously injured in the incident.

THREE ROUTES CONVERGE ON WASHINGTON, D.C.

1,500 RALLY AS CONTINENTAL WALK FOR DISARMAMENT AND SOCIAL JUSTICE ENDS

"We walk slow, but we're moving. We work slow, but we're building. And we will win."

(Washington, D.C.) - A crowd of 1,500 people representing the three routes of the Continental Walk converged at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., on Saturday, October 16. The walk began January 31 in San Francisco, and was joined by two other cross country routes: one from New Orleans, begun in April on the eighth anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, and another from Boston, begun on the 31st anniversary of Hiroshima.

The walk's purpose was to raise demands which have been noticeably absent from this year's political campaigns — social justice and the diversion of funds from military to human programs. Walk organizers placed the march in the historical context of a long struggle for disarmament, with particular emphasis on eliminating the nuclear arsenal and also nuclear power plants.

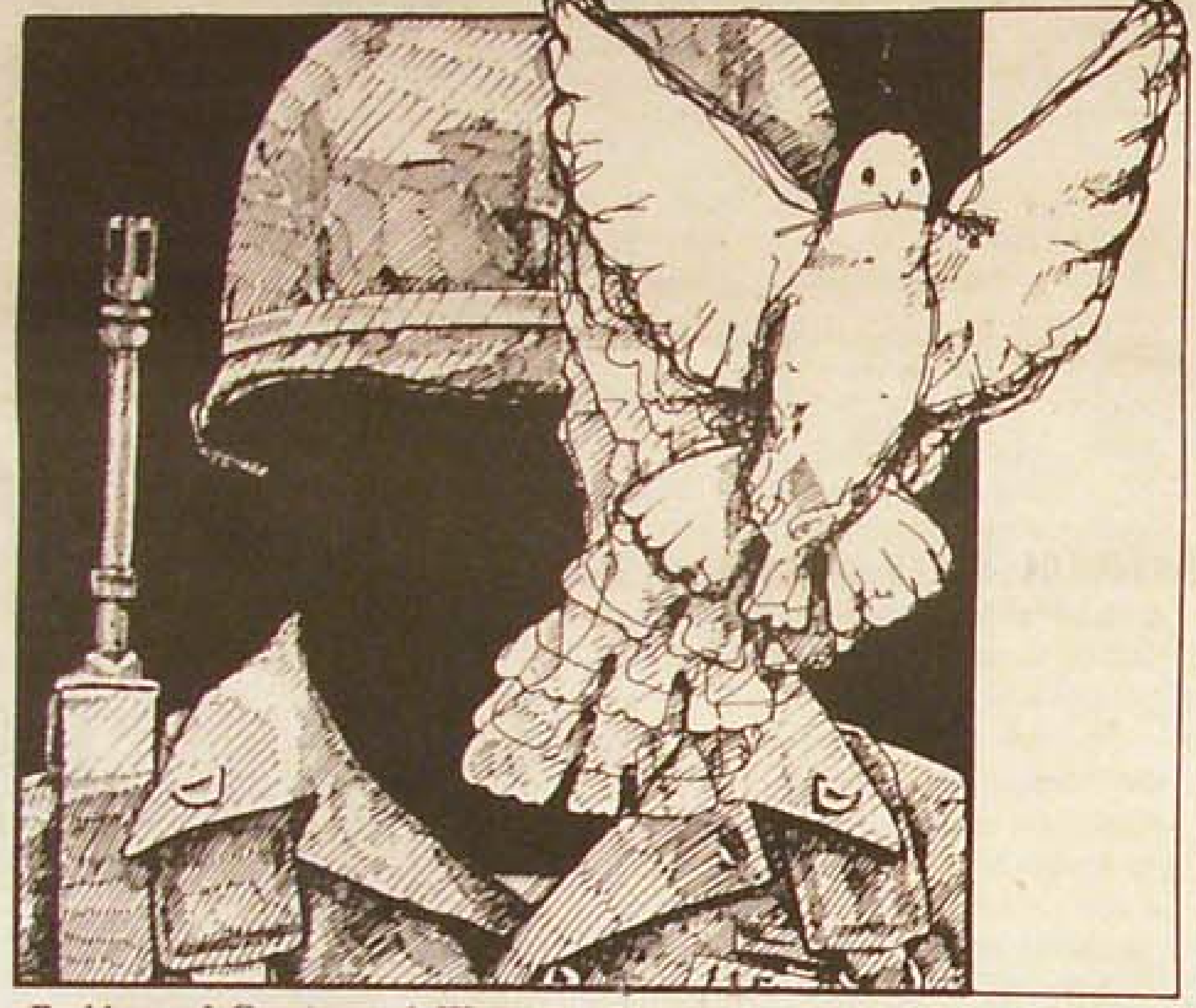
The walkers also made an effort to focus on issues in local communities along the route of the march. This emphasis on decentralized, grassroots organizing was underlined by peace activist Dave Dellinger, who spoke at the rally following the march.

EXPERTS

"I think we learned in the struggle against the Vietnam War that we cannot trust the experts and politicians," said Dellinger. "We must trust ourselves. And we have to trust ourselves working with other people, grassroots people like ourselves."

In spite of the serious issues raised by the walk, the tone of the day's events was more like a celebration. Creative and colorful costumes, banners, impromptu music and a sense of comraderie characterized the march from the Lincoln Memorial to the grounds of the Washington Monument.

Contingents from all over the country — ranging from war resisters and pacifists, to antiwar activists, Gold Star mothers, the Bread and Puppet Theater, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Hiroshima survivors — joined together to demand, among other things, an end to the arms race, amnesty for war resisters, jobs, decent housing, racial justice, health care, and sexual justice for women and gays.



Emblem of Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice.

Other marchers, however, reported harassment along the way. This was especially true for the southern route through Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South and North Carolina and Virginia, where marchers were jailed four different times.

Activist comedian Dick Gregory told the crowd that both Blacks and Whites suffer from the "White racist mentality that thrives on picking on the underdog. That's why politicians attack welfare mothers but don't attack the mafia." Gregory also made a hard-hitting attack on sexism and the myth of male supremacy. His speech received a standing ovation.

Most speakers reiterated that the goals of the walk would not be won in an easy victory. But, said Daniel Ellsberg, "The lesson of Vietnam is that all those marches counted. None of it was too much. None of it was too soon. Every bit counted."

Cora Weiss, representing Friendshipment, called for the recognition of the Vietnamese government by the U.S. and the re-establishment of trade and diplomatic relations.

ATROCITIES

While criticizing the atrocities of the war, Dellinger pointed out that institutional violence, such as hunger, bad housing and poor health care, are just as deadly as overt violence.

"Imperialism begins at home. Imperialism is a system, not just a mistake. We must be against the violence of the system in this country, which puts profit and private ownership. . .ahead of human compassion and human solidarity and human equality."□

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

Judge Blasts City Government

(Mobile, Ala.) — A federal judge here has ordered the city of Mobile to change its city commission form of government and replace it with a mayor-council form designed to give Black citizens more representation in city government. U.S. District Judge Virgil Pittman ruled last week that the Alabama coastal city's at-large election of its three city commissioners was un-Constitutional as the system gave Blacks no realistic chance of representation.

Gang Research Funds Wasted

(New York, N.Y.) - The National Urban League in a statement last week, declared that millions of dollars in public funds were being misspent through this country's failure to use the expert knowledge of experienced minority group organizations and former and present gang members. "Blacks and other minorities are identified as the perpetrators," stated Robert Woodson of the Urban League, "but when allocations are made for research, it goes to the White institutions."

Prisoner Murdered

(Washington, D.C.) — A prisoner who allegedly grabbed a gun from a federal marshal and fired a shot at a District of Columbia judge was pronounced dead last week shortly after the incident occurred. A medical examiner stated that Curtis E. Hoston, 29 years old, died from a "heart laceration," caused by his heart being pressed against his spine.

Medicaid Abortion Ban Illegal

(New York, N.Y.) - U.S. District Court Judge John F. Dooling, Jr., ruled last week that a new law prohibiting the use of Medicaid money for abortions is un-Constitutional because it discriminates against poor women. Dooling directed the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to resume payments, citing the fact that the restriction denied poor women their Constitutional right to obtain abortions.

New York Death Penalty Declared Un-Constitutional By State Supreme Court

(New York, N.Y.) - A state supreme court justice here ruled last week that New York State's death penalty law is un-Constitutional.

In reviewing the case of Joseph Velez, sentenced to death in 1975 for the murder of an off-duty policeman, Justice Peter J. McQuillan ruled that the statute which mandates execution for the murder of a policeman or prison guard, was "cruel and unusual punishment."

The ruling stated that the statute did not give a judge or a jury leeway to exercise discretion in deciding an appropriate sentence for a particular case.

The decision was the first legal test of New York State's death penalty since the July 2 Supreme Court decision this past summer.

Since Justice McQuillan serves on the state supreme court, the trial court of general jurisdiction, his ruling is not binding on other supreme court justices. It is, however, expected to be given great weight by them as the first decision giving reasons why the statute is un-Constitutional and since Justice McQuillan is considered one of the leading authorities on the state's criminal law.

MANDATORY SENTENCES

"The concept of mandatory sentences has been consistently discredited by any thoughtful and rational observer of a penal system," Justice McQuillan wrote in a 40-page decision.

"It is mindless to suppose that some semblance of justice is achieved when a criminal statute prescribes that each and every defendant convicted of a certain legislatively defined crime must receive an identical sentence without any consideration of the individual's background and personality or without any conversation of mitigating or aggravating factors attending the commission of the crime itself."

New York's death penalty statute was enacted in September, 1974. A prior death penalty statute was struck down by the Court of Appeals in June, 1973, because it allowed jurors too much discretion and was found Constitutionally unacceptable.□



The current U.S. Supreme Court recently upheld the death penalty.



GOVERNOR STAYS OCTOBER 26 EXECUTION

ANTI-DEATH PENALTY COALITION STALLS GEORGIA EXECUTION

(Atlanta, Ga.) - A nationwide campaign against the death penalty has won a temporary victory in its first test with the granting of a 90-day stay of execution to Georgia death row inmate Anthony Machetti.

Machetti, who was scheduled to die on October 26, would have been the first person to be executed in the U.S. since 1967. On July 2 of this year, the U.S. Supreme Court again legalized capital punishment in three states — Georgia, Florida and Texas. (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.) The ruling lifted the 1972 Supreme Court ban on capital punishment as "arbitrary" and "cruel and unusual" punishment.

On October 18, Governor George Busbee told reporters here he would grant Machetti a 90-day stay of execution.

Georgia officials tried to carry out the murder with no publicity. They moved Machetti from a county prison to death row without even telling him he had only a few days to live.

Machetti's lawyers learned of the execution date only on Friday, October 15. They informed the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia and the Georgia Committee Against the Death Penalty. These groups publicized the danger to Machetti's life.

Machetti himself found out about the date by hearing it on the radio, according to Mary Hougland of the ACLU, who visited him October 18.

Opponents of legalized murder mobilized immediately. The Georgia committee held a news conference October 18 to demand that no executions take place and to publicize a protest rally held on October 23.

Speakers at the news conference included Georgia state legislators David Scott and Douglass Dean; Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson; and Clinton Deveaux, president of the Georgia ACLU.

Gene Guerrero, executive director of the state ACLU, and Jondell Johnson, director of the Atlanta NAACP, issued a joint statement at the news conference. They urged "all concerned Georgians to speak out" against the execution.

Mayor Jackson blasted the death penalty as "bloodletting." He said it was "poor people, Black people, and uneducated people," who bore the brunt of this "brutal, barbaric punishment," the *Guardian* reports.

Although Machetti is White, the racism of the death penalty here is well documented. Of the 60 persons now under death sentence in Georgia, more than half are Blacks. Of the 366 persons Georgia executed between 1930 and 1964, more than four-fifths were Blacks. Blacks are only one-fourth of the state's population.

After the news conference reporters asked Governor Busbee if he would grant a stay of execution. Busbee said yes, he would, so that the state parole board could consider commutation of sentence or pardon. In Georgia, the governor can only grant a stay of execution. Further moves are up to the parole board.

Mary Hougland of the Georgia ACLU emphasized that a dozen other men have exhausted their appeals. "We are expecting execution dates to be set for them at any time," she said.

Florida and Texas are also expected to begin setting death dates soon. The laws of other states are still being challenged in the courts.□

Uproar Over Inmate Death At S.F. County Jail

(San Francisco, Calif.) — San Francisco County Jail was rocked in a turmoil last week when a White sheriff's sergeant refused to fly the American flag at half-mast in memory of a Black inmate, Larry Davis, 30, who had died of diabetes. Undersheriff James Denman had ordered the flag flown at half-mast but Sergeant Jeremiah Murphy not only refused to obey the order, but raised the flag to the top of the pole.

However, Murphy was overruled and the flag was lowered again where it was to remain for three days in a memorial to Davis. The sergeant was then ordered to make a full report to Sheriff Richard Hongisto and Denman for failure to obey an order.

Undersheriff Denman stated he expects the lowering of the flag to half staff to be a departmental policy. "It's a sign of grief," he said. "I don't care whether he's a prisoner, an employee or a congressman. To me he (Davis) was a human being."

CHIEF GOVERNMENT WITNESS AGAINST WILMINGTON 10 RECANTS

(New York, N.Y.) - Four years after 10 civil rights activists in North Carolina were convicted on charges of arson and conspiracy, the state's sole eyewitness, Allen Hall, has admitted that he was coerced by the state prosecution and a federal law enforcement agent into fabricating his entire testimony.

The Wilmington 10, as the convicted activists are known, include Rev. Ben Chavis, a well-known civil rights leader; eight other Black men, most of them high school students when they were arrested; and Ann Shepard, a White woman who was a VISTA volunteer.

In response to Hall's recanted testimony, defense lawyers for the Wilmington 10 filed a motion in court on October 13 demanding dismissal of charges against them or a retrial. All 10 are in jail now and have demanded to be released on bail. They were imprisoned in February of 1976 after bail for further appeals was denied.

The civil rights demonstrations that led to their arrests began as a nonviolent protest in early 1971, demanding that a memorial service for Martin Luther King be allowed at a Wilmington, North Carolina, high school.

KU KLUX KLAN

Violence broke out after police and members of the Ku Klux Klan attacked protesters who had rallied at a church. In the following weeks, two Black teenagers and a member of the Ku Klux Klan were killed by gunfire, and several homes and stores were burned.

Shortly afterwards, Chavis, who had been a highly visible leader of the protests, and nine others were arrested and subsequently convicted. Chavis was sentenced to 34 years in prison; three others got 31 years each; and five got 29 years each. Shepard was convicted on an accessory charge and given 10 years.

Allen Hall, who has now recanted his testimony, was the sole prosecution eyewitness. He claimed that he was with Chavis and the nine others when they set fire to a White-owned grocery store and shot guns at police officers during the Wilmington protests.

In August, 1976, Hall confided to several families of the imprisoned 10 that his original story was untrue. "I was losing respect for myself as a man and a Black person," he explained to a



Nine of the Wilmington 10 defendants.

reporter. "My conscience was bothering me living with this lie."

Shortly afterwards, Hall contacted a defense attorney for the 10, James E. Ferguson, and in a sworn interview said that the state prosecution and a federal agent with the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms division of the Treasury Department, William Walden, assisted him in fabricating his entire testimony. Hall said that he never saw any of the ten engaging in any of the acts for which they were convicted.

Hall said that he was taught who was whom through photographs, so he could claim that illegal activities were committed by people he never had seen or met before. He added that the prosecution helped him memorize names and get his story straight, and created codes and code names so that he could remember what he was supposed to say in court.

"The ATF showed me how to make Molotov cocktails and also what dynamite looks like," Hall explained, so that he could appear credible in court.

BEATINGS

According to Hall, it was the threat of beatings and a long prison term which led him to falsify testimony. The prosecution told Hall, who had also been charged with arson in the Wilmington protests, that he would spend the rest of his life in jail if he did not cooperate.

"I was promised by all of them that I wouldn't get much time and would be out in six months," in return for cooperating. While the prosecution talked to him, rubber hoses lay on the ground with the obvious threat that they would be used against him if he did not assist the prosecution. □

Indian Woman Loses Baby After Police Beating

(Gordon, Nebraska) — Jo An Yellow Bird, wife of the Nebraska state American Indian Movement (AIM) coordinator recently lost her unborn baby after being kicked in the stomach by Gordon police officer Robert Barnes.

On September 15 of this year, Ms. Yellow Bird had come to the aid of her husband Bob, who was being choked by Barnes. Bob Yellow Bird had called the police to arrest a White who had sprayed them with mace outside a Gordon hotel.

When the police arrived, They refused to arrest the White man and eventually began to beat Yellow Bird. The police "all went crazy," Yellow Bird told the *Guardian*, "and started to club us kick us and mace us."

Jo Ann Yellow Bird saw the police manhandling her husband and when she attempted to help him, Barnes pushed her to the ground and kicked her in the stomach.

HEMORRHAGE

"Jo Ann started to hemorrhage," her husband said. "She asked to be taken to a hospital," he went on, "but the officers refused and took us both to jail." Only after they were charged with "malicious destruction of property (because of damage caused by police) and three hours had elapsed was Ms. Yellow Bird examined by a doctor and taken to a hospital. After posting $1,000 bail Bob Yellow Bird was released.

However on September 29, while confined in the Pine Ridge, South Dakota hospital Ms. Yellow Bird aborted a dead fetus — a direct result of Barnes' kick. □

Forced Drugging Of Mentally Ill California Inmates Probed

(Sacramento, Calif.) - The state Department of Health has revealed in a recent report that many jails in five California counties use forced medication as the only form of treating mentally disturbed inmates.

The study pointed out several reasons why mentally disturbed inmates require special attention, including their lessened ability to cope with the rigors of incarceration and their vulnerability to psychic damage.

According to official figures, seven per cent of adult inmates and three per cent of incarcerated juveniles in California suffer from psychotic disorders. Among the committee's recommendations to improve conditions for psychiatric inmates were: that the state Department of Corrections, with assistance from the Health Department, put together specific standards for housing mentally ill inmates; that specific procedures be implemented to detect mental



Drawing of a Black inmate receiving involuntary electric shock treatment.

disorder early in the confinement process; and that the state should review the use of forced medication as treatment of mental disorders in jails and detention centers.

In a California Senate committee report, it was recently revealed that California's mental hospitals will need at least $79 million in repairs and staffing increases costing more than $40 million to properly treat patients. If these measures are not taken, the report indicates that the state stands to lose millions of dollars of federal funds under the Medicare and Medical programs. □

SAN FRANCISCO N.A.A.C.P. LEADER: "PROGRESS IS PAINFULLY SLOW"

Last week, U.S. District Court Judge Orma Smith granted a preliminary injunction against enforcement of a $1.25 million damage suit awarded to 12 White merchants in Port Gibson, Mississippi, who sued the NAACP for an alleged illegal boycott in the late 1960s.

In granting the stay, Judge Smith made it unnecessary for the NAACP to post the mandated $1.66 million bond that would, in effect, have destroyed the nation's oldest civil rights organization.

In the following article, THE BLACK PANTHER interviews Joseph Hall, president of the San Francisco Chapter of the NAACP. Hall discusses the Port Gibson case and the direction that the 67-year-old civil rights organization is headed.


White police drag civil rights demonstrator.

BLACK PANTHER: Why was the Port Gibson boycott declared illegal?

HALL: There was a law passed by the state legislature which made the boycott illegal. Some of the merchants who were boycotted became involved in the city council and the legislature. One merchant in particular initiated the bill that made the boycott illegal. The judge was acting in accordance with state law.

STATE COURTS

That's why we had to get it out of the state courts into the federal courts. That's where the chance of victory will eventually lie. It's like a lot of the other state laws they have. As long as you are fighting in the state courts, there's no place to go; it's like running around in circles. When you get in the federal courts, you've got the Bill of Rights, the First Amendment.

Q: What is the importance of the Port Gibson case?

HALL: Just imagine what labor unions or civil rights organizations in this country would be like if they could not strike or boycott. That's their only weapon. If you can't protest something that's going contrary to the desires of your organization, then what alternative is there?

More seriously, we have to ask, what would that do if that were applicable on a national scale? I think that it would intimidate civil rights groups and labor organizations to a point where they would be afraid to do anything. Then they'd be at the mercy of whoever is bringing the suit.

If you've always got the potential threat hanging over your head of a suit for one, two, three, four or five million dollars — which you know you will not be able to respond to intelligently — then you're just going to give up. You're eventually going to give up and say what's the use? It's a no win situation. Either you're going to resort to the tactics that are being followed now or you're just going to give up altogether. We're trying to avoid that situation.

The response that we make will have a lasting effect on changing the laws of a state. That's not to say that next week after we change a law, they won't pass another one with the same purpose in mind — to harass and intimidate the organization. This is an old story, particularly for the NAACP in Mississippi.

INTIMIDATED

Let's take it a step further. If individuals were so intimidated, they would refuse to get involved

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

Zaire Peace Corps Head Exposed As Ex-Army Intelligence Man

(San Francisco, Calif.) — An ex-Army intelligence officer in Vietnam is now the director of the Peace Corps in Zaire, in violation of Peace Corps policy, the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported last week.

William H. Crosson, 59, served as a high-ranking intelligence colonel in the U.S. military command's headquarters in Vietnam from February, 1965, until April, 1966. After retiring from the Army in 1967 following a 30-year career, Crosson joined the Peace Corps in March, 1972, and now directs the activities of about 200 Peace Corps volunteers in Zaire, formerly the Belgian Congo.

The code of federal regulations requires that potential Peace Corps volunteers must "not have worked for or served in any intelligence agency, civilian or military, or have been associated with any intelligence operations."

POLICY STATEMENT

The Peace Corps policy statement stipulates that, "Any person whose application reveals intelligence activity (other than CIA) within the past 10 years shall be barred from consideration for positions in Peace Corps operations overseas and in ACTION's office of international operations." (ACTION is a federal agency created in 1971 by the merger of the Peace Corps and VISTA — Volunteers in Service to America, a domestic version of the Peace Corps).

Founded by the late President John F. Kennedy in 1961, the Peace Corps was immediately regarded suspiciously by many of the African and other Third World countries to which volunteers were sent. Although the alleged purpose of the agency is to provide underdeveloped countries with technological and educational aid, the Third World has long regarded the Peace Corps as nothing more than an intelligence arm of the U.S.

Throughout its history, the Peace Corps has frequently been in the middle of controversial political issues involving the U.S. and the host country.

Peace Corps officials in Washington said that Crosson's intelligence background and agency career is being thoroughly investigated. ☐

...And Bid Him Sing

By David G. Du Bois

Exciting Novel Examines Lives Of Black Americans In Egypt



The late MALCOLM X, founder of the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

*Rumblings of war between Egypt and Israel hit Cairo in this week's excerpt from. . .*And Bid Him Sing *by BLACK PANTHER Editor-in-Chief David G. Du Bois. The sympathies of the community of Black Americans living in Cairo — self-exiles from the racism and oppression of America — lie with Egypt.*

PART 51

It was from Hank that Suliman first learned of the major political crisis developing in Egypt. He came to me to confirm it. We had seen little of each other in the months preceding the crisis. He had been occupied with his volume of poems and planning a second one. I had been busy trying to regain my boss's confidence after a major confrontation between us over my unforgivable failure to be on top of the several major stories that came out of the OAU conference.

FEEBLE ATTEMPT

My feeble attempt to assert that Malcolm was the most important story of the conference only complicated the confrontation: for the world press, Malcolm obviously wasn't the most important story and, even if he had been, I hadn't produced any sensational, inside story on him that would have compensated for my failure to cover the conference itself.

I knew I was at fault. But I resented being told so. When Malcolm was murdered, I felt to some extent vindicated. My boss never did understand this, but said no more about it.

It was nine in the evening and I was still at my desk, working on a story, when Suliman walked in. "Hey, brother," he said a little self-consciously. "How you doin'?"

"Well, I'll be damned!" I said as I got up to take his hand and get him a chair. "What is it they say about the mountain coming to Mohammed? It's good to see you. I'm doin' fine, busy as hell. How you doin'?"

"Went by your place," he said, somewhat anxiously I thought, as he sat down, ". . .and when I didn't find you decided I'd come by here to see what's up."

"Things are poppin' around here. I suppose you've heard. Keeps us on our toes." I offered him a cigarette.

"What in hell is going on?" he said, sitting forward in his chair. "Hank told me last night there's talk at the AUC about American wives and children cuttin' out from here. Then, this morning at the mission, sure enough, all the ofays talking about wives and children leaving because there's going to be war, and shit like that What the hell has happened?"

This was the first I'd heard of Americans talking about leaving, and I told Suliman this. "But Nasser says the Israelis are planning to attack Syria, so he's closed the Tiran Straits at the entrance to the Aqaba Gulf to Israeli shipping, to make it more difficult for them. The U.S. and Britain are raising hell, talking about he's got no right, international waters and shit like that, and they're hinting they'll use force to reopen the straits.

"Nasser's holding to his guns and, at the same time getting his military shit together in case. This is scaring the Israelis, so they're getting their military shit together too. Nobody knows when it's going to hit the fan. But it looks like it's going to."

"Where the fuck is the Aqaba Gulf?"

I took the *Gazette* of the day that had published a map of the area and showed it to him.

"It's Egyptian territory, ain't it?" Not waiting for an answer, he said, "Then, they got a right, shit!"

"They got a right," I said, "that Johnson don't intend to recognize, so the Israelis figure they got it made and just might use this as an excuse to plow into Egypt."

"They'd be out of their natural minds if they did," Suliman said, sitting back in his chair.

"Maybe," I answered. "Dig, let me finish this thing I'm on now, it'll take me about ten minutes, and we'll go down and have a drink somewhere."

"Yeah," he said absently. He'd taken up the *Gazette* and was concentratedly reading the lead story. It was the offical report of a mammoth press conference Nasser had held at Kubbah Republican Palace the day before.

Two days later it became official. The U.S. Embassy advised all those Americans who had no official or urgent reason to remain in Egypt to leave. Washington advised its citizens not to visit the countries of the Middle East. The British did likewise.

The tourist hotels were suddenly empty of Americans. Wives and children of embassy officials, mission officials and oil company personnel were flown out. Something like suppressed panic swept through the American community in Cairo. The British and Europeans were cooler about it all, but they were leaving too.

Those of us who were not involved with or close to the American and foreign community found it rather silly. There was no kind of panic anywhere else in Egypt, as far as we could see. There were no screaming headlines or urgent war measures being taken.

NASSER

There were reports of Nasser meeting with Egypt's top military brass and visiting military positions in Sinai. Jordan's King Hussein suddenly turned up in Egypt and a big fuss was made of the signing of a joint defense pact. Iraq signed it a few days later.

There had been a few practice air-raid drills, and car owners had been ordered to paint their headlights blue. Citizens had been ordered to either paint their windows blue or to cover them with blue paper. Instructions had been printed in the daily paper on what to do in case of an air raid, and a brownout had been ordered throughout the city.

But it had all been taken lightheartedly and casually, and had been compiled with in the same way. None of us, no Egyptian, interpreted any of this as preparations to launch a war against Israel. And everyone refused to believe that Israel would make a military move against Egypt.

TO BE CONTINUED

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

"Trial"

In this portion of the chapter "Trial" from Revolutionary Suicide, *Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton continues to discuss the legal arguments which were central to his celebrated 1968 trumped-up murder case.*

PART 73

In his opening statement to the jury Jensen charged that I had murdered Officer John Frey with full intent, that I had shot Officer Herbert Heanes, and that I had kidnapped Dell Ross. He said that when the first policeman stopped me I had given him false identification, but when the second officer came up, I had correctly identified myself. Then the first officer, Frey, placed me under arrest. He claimed that when the police walked me back to his car, I produced a gun and began firing.

According to Jensen, I shot Officer Frey with my own gun, which I pulled from inside in shirt, then took his gun and continued shooting. I was charged with shooting Officer Frey five times and Officer Heanes three times. Officer Heanes was supposed to have shot me once. After this, the prosecutor said, I escaped and forced Dell Ross to take me to another part of Oakland.

The most crucial challenge facing the prosecution was to establish motivation for my alleged actions. Jensen claimed that I had three motives for my alleged crimes.

First, he said, I had had a prior conviction for a felony and was on probation. Because of this, I knew that having a concealed weapon on my person could lead to another felony conviction if the police officers found the gun on me.

Second, they claimed that I had marijuana in the car and that bits of marijuana had been found in the pocket of my pants; this, too, could lead to another felony beef.

And, third, they claimed that I had given false identification to the police officer, which was a violation of the law. For these reasons, the prosecutor claimed I was so desperate to escape another felony charge that I killed an officer, wounded another, and kidnapped a citizen. As I said before, the prosecutor was willing to go to any lengths to win his case.

The truth of the matter is that when Frey stopped me, he knew full well who I was, as did every other policeman on the Oakland force, and he tried to execute me in an urban variation of the old-style southern lynching. My attorneys had investigated Frey's background, and they found a long history of harassing and mistreating Black people and making racist statements about Blacks and to Blacks.

Unfortunately for Frey, his habits boomeranged that time. I do not know what happened because I was unconscious, but things did not work out as he wanted or expected them to. I guess he thought that if he could bring me in dead, he would be given a promotion.

The marijuana charge was sheer fabrication. First of all, no member of the Black Panther Party uses drugs. It is absolutely forbidden. Anyone discovered violating this rule is expelled from the Party. Narcotics prohibition is part of the Black Panther principle of obeying the law to the letter. Both Charles Garry and I believed that the marijuana found in the car and in my trousers was planted there by the police. Having been stopped by members of the Oakland police force more than fifty times in the past year, why would I take the risk? Knowing that at any moment of the day or night I was liable to be thoroughly searched and my car inspected, I would never have been reckless enough to carry marijuana, even if I had wanted to use it — which I didn't. If the matchboxes really were in LaVerne's car that night, there is no way of knowing how they got there. Dozens of people used her car, many of whom she knew only slightly, since they were friends of friends. But it is far more likely that the police were behaving as usual, leaving out no possibility in their determination to railroad me to jail.

As for being a felon with a gun, I, of course, was not carrying a weapon but had been out celebrating the end of my probation that night. There was no reason for me to have a gun and no reason to avoid arrest on this count. Nor did I consider myself a felon. The original conviction of felony was a complicated one, anyway, going back to the Odell Lee case in 1964. Under California law, the sentence a defendant receives determines whether he is a "felon" or a "misdemeanant." If he is sentenced to a state prison, he is a felon; a misdemeanant usually goes to a county jail. When I was convicted of assaulting Odell Lee with a deadly weapon, I was sentenced to three years' probation, a condition being that I serve six months in the county jail. This meant I was a misdemeanant. However, in my murder trial the judge testified that I had been sentenced to the state prison and that then the sentence had been suspended. As a condition of my probation I spent six months in the county jail. Technically the state considered me a felon. In the end, this proved to be reversible error. Although I could have changed my legal status in the courts, I never petitioned because I did not consider myself a felon.

But the prosecution did, and planned its whole case around the point. Not only did they want to show I would commit murder to avoid arrest, but they also wanted to take advantage of the fact that a felon's testimony can be discredited and he can receive a severer sentence.

TO BE CONTINUED



HUEY P. NEWTON and CHARLES GARRY at 1971 retrial.

Exclusive BLACK PANTHER Interview With Z.A.N.U. Publicity Head

"WE WANT TO WRECK THE GENEVA TALKS"

Rhodesian Troops Murder Hundreds Of Zimbabweans In Mozambican Refugee Camps

(Salisbury, Rhodesia) - The White minority government of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), almost certainly ensuring that the beleaguered Geneva talks will collapse, announced last Monday that it had conducted several raids on Zimbabwean refugee camps in Mozambique, killing hundreds of innocent civilians.

A military communique issued by the regime of "Prime Minister" Ian Smith said that government troops — Black and White — had crossed into neighboring Mozambique in response to "trans-border acts of aggression" by terrorists." These "acts of aggression" referred to attacks by liberation forces of the Mozambique-based Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) who last weekend attacked three corners of Rhodesia — a tourist hotel in Victoria Falls on the southern Zambian border; at Filabusi, a small mining and farming town in the southwest, and in the southeast at Vila Salazar on the Mozambique border. (See next week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER for details.)

Meanwhile, in Geneva, Switzerland, the stalemated conference on establishing Black majority rule in Zimbabwe was scheduled to resume on Wednesday, the day Smith said that he would leave and return to Zimbabwe. The Black delegations on hand are led by Robert Mugabe, secretary-general of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and political commander of ZIPA; Joshua Nkomo, head of the internal wing of the African National Council (ANC); Bishop Abel Muzorewa, head of the external wing of the ANC; and Rev. Ndbaningi Sithole, the deposed president of ZANU. Mugabe warned prior to the opening of the conference that ZIPA would continue to fight the Smith regime even as the talks were being held.

Below, THE BLACK PANTHER presents Part 1 of an exclusive interview with Eddison Zvobgo, publicity secretary of ZANU — the vanguard revolutionary organization in Zimbabwe — and editor of the Zimbabwe News, ZANU's official organ. The interview was conducted last week by telephone from Chicago where Comrade Zvobgo had just returned briefly from Geneva to pick up some issues of Zimbabwe News and THE BLACK PANTHER to take back to Geneva. His timely comments provide a penetrating analysis of the current situation in the Zimbabwean armed liberation struggle and ZANU's role as the vanguard political party in that struggle.

PART 1

BLACK PANTHER: How are the Geneva talks evolving?

ZVOBGO: We arrived in Geneva on Sunday and immediately began to have local problems with accommodations and other things. We started business on Monday, making arrangements and finding out the position of the other side. The conference started Thursday and lasted 25 minutes. On Friday, the heads of the delegations began reading formal statements.

QUESTION: What are the prospects that something positive will come out of the talks?

ZVOBGO: We don't think that anything is going to come out of Geneva but ZANU's position. We would like to wreck this conference if we can. The only way it is going to succeed is if Ian Smith surrenders to every one of our demands. First, there are preconditions that ZANU announced last month that Smith has not fulfilled. They are:

•All political prisoners should be freed in Zimbabwe.

•The Ian Smith regime should cease and desist from its genocidal policies against the African people throughout the country. In this regard, all the "protected" villages, which are gigantic concentration camps, should be dismantled and the people should be able to return to their homes.

•The British government, who called this conference, should pick up the tab. We have never contended that we have money. We are a guerrilla organization. They chose Geneva which is extremely expensive, and there is no way we can pick up our own tab.

•The British government should appoint a person of Cabinet rank to come and chair the conference and that person should have full powers to decolonize Rhodesia, in other words, to actually hand over power.

The present situation is that Mr. Ivor Richard, who is the British ambassador to the United Nations, has been sent to chair the conference. He is not a minister and is not vested with the powers to actually grant the people of Zimbabwe their freedom.

This has been a sticky point. We say that we are not going to be hoodwinked like children and spend our time in Geneva talking to a person who does not have full powers from the British government. These are the preconditions.

The only transaction that has actually been dealt with by the African delegation has been the question of a date for independence. We have rejected the Kissinger plan as the basis for this conference and insist that before we discuss anything, Ian Smith must accept a date for the handover. We have fixed September 1, 1977, as such a date. If Smith accepts that, then from our point of view we can now begin to meaningfully talk about the transitional framework. But we cannot talk about the transitional framework, form of government or other related subjects unless this man has accepted the particular date for independence.

TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT

QUESTION: If Smith does accept that date, what sort of transitional government does ZANU favor?

ZVOBGO: ZANU wants a transitional system where all the ministries will be in our hands. Ian Smith wants to keep defense and justice (police). We have rejected that, and if he insists on that, we will pack up our bags and leave the conference. We will never discuss the question of the so-called minority (White) protection. We don't want that on the agenda. If we entertain that subject, we are going to spend so much time and money and effort talking about things that are so silly.

Smith asked Kissinger for four types of minority protection. It is our understanding that the United States has agreed that these protections will be guaranteed by us before we can get independence by negotiations.

Those four protections are:

(1) Indemnity clause — No person who may have committed a crime will be prosecuted after the new constitution comes into effect.





Members of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) march to carry out military operation against Rhodesia's White minority regime (above). Zimbabwean people (left) are confined in "protected village" built by the Ian Smith regime to separate revolutionary guerrillas from the Black population of Rhodesia. Current talks in Geneva are for the purpose of establishing a Black puppet regime in Rhodesia.

Smith wants this to avoid our trying him for murder and genocide, together with his police and army. We say in Geneva that this is the "Nixon" indemnity clause.

(2) Settlers want protection in regards to land, housing and property. The argument which Ian Smith has put across is that settlers own property and that if a revolutionary government comes into power, it is going to refuse to buy those houses and that land from settlers. They want an ironclad guarantee now whereby the United States and the Western powers will put some of the $2.2 billion which is being talked about into an escrow account in New York and London. When we take over and seize the land and seize what they regard as their property, these settlers will be able to come over to New York and get paid.

We understand that they want the value of their property to remain as it was before UDI in 1965. We reject this partly because clearly it is racist to ask the people of Zimbabwe to pay for UDI. Secondly, we don't think it's fair to pay settlers prices as they were in 1965, that is, before they took illegal action to declare UDI when the prices for their property were very high. Now their properties are down.

(3) Settlers want a guarantee regarding bonds and other securities. The Smith regime has floated bonds over the years, and some of those bonds which were bought by settlers have 25, 30, 50-year long-term life guarantees, particularly bonds bought by insurance companies. The argument is that if a revolutionary government comes into power, when those bonds mature — 25 to 30 years from now — and the settlers want to redeem them, we will refuse to honor them on the basis that the money raised was to enable Ian Smith to pursue his policy of genocide and oppression. They want to have recourse to their accounts in New York and London to redeem their bonds outside the country.

Finally, they are talking about pensions. The argument is that since public servants have always been all White, that once we take over we will not honor pensions, including the pension for Ian Smith, the police force and army which have been killing our people, members of the ministries, etc. The United States and Britain have put money into those accounts I have described so that any person who has served for 10 years is entitled to gratuity. If you've served for 20 years, you are entitled to two pensions.

The position they now raise is that anybody who has worked six years, for example, should be paid the full gratuity, including payment for the four years he has not worked. Anybody who has worked between 15 and 20 years should be paid the full pension, as if he had worked 20 years.

RAISED OUTSIDE ZIMBABWE

All this money which is to be raised outside Zimbabwe we thought was a generous grant from Kissinger. It's not; it's a loan to the Republic of Zimbabwe. They didn't say anything about this before. It was racism for the U.S. to appropriate money to the White settlers for genocide.

QUESTION: Are there any officials other than Smith that ZANU would seek to try?

ZVOBGO: The entire Rhodesian Front Party. There is hard cold evidence of murder. They hanged two brothers in 1968 who had actually been reprieved by the British crown. They had been sentenced to death by the High Court and Queen Elizabeth reprieved them, but Smith proceeded to hang them nevertheless. Several people have died of torture; Machewere, for instance, who died in a police cell. The list is endless.

Our contention is that time does not run out against murder and genocide and that those people must be tried.

Apart from that there is the whole question of treason, by declaring UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence). There is the question of several farmers who dispossessed people of their means of livelihood by driving them off of their land and seizing the land. In our view, that is just as effective a method of killing a people as dragging them off the land and saying you can't plow anymore. Those are very serious crimes. For this reason we will not accept this kind of minority protection.

QUESTION: Is the U.S. taking part in the talks?

ZVOBGO: No, they are not taking part. Their presence is described as "good will" since the Kissinger plan originated from here. They are around to see that all delegations are comfortable.

QUESTION: How does ZANU view the Kissinger "shuttle?"

ZVOBGO: The whole thing was a sham. Despite the fact that the U.S. knew that the only credible military force is ZANU, Kissinger refused to even make the attempt to sit down with Robert Mugabe, the Secretary-General and head of the party, at this point, or with anyone in the Chimorenga High Command — all those who were jailed in Zambia who have now been released. Nor did he make an attempt to come to our camps and meet with the military committee that has been coordinating the war to this point. Instead, he went to Lusaka to talk to Nkomo because Nkomo is heavily supported by Kissinger and Callaghan, the British prime minister.

KISSINGER PLAN

The Kissinger plan developed without any consultation with the only credible revolutionary movement. For that reason, as far as we are concerned, it's a long struggle.

Also, it is worth noting that Kissinger has repeatedly said that what he wants in Zimbabwe is a moderate regime. Clearly the kind of moderate regime he has in mind would be headed by Joshua Nkomo or Bishop Muzorewa, a kind of reactionary Kuomintang regime. Our view is that the Kuomintang clique — ANC-Muzorewa or ANC-Nkomo — will not rule Zimbabwe because the ZANU armed forces are determined at this point to wage a vigorous armed struggle in the next several months and completely overthrow and dismantle the Smith regime.

We've also made it clear that this is the last conference that ZANU will attend. Smith must get that quite clear, that after this conference, there will be no other conference.

QUESTION: Is Robert Mugabe heading the ZANU delegation?

ZVOBGO: Right. The delegation is very strong. It's made up of ZANU Central Committee members plus General Tongogara, our comrade who's the chief-of-defense of the ZANU armed forces.

TO BE CONTINUED

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal insitutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Intercommunal News

95 PER CENT TURNOUT FOR CUBA'S "PEOPLE'S POWER" ELECTIONS

(Havana, Cuba) - In an extraordinary mass mobilization for this largely rural, poor island country of nine million, more than 95 per cent of Cubans over 16 turned out to vote in Cuba's first elections since Fidel Castro came to power 17 years ago. The other five per cent, Prime Minister Castro told reporters on election day, couldn't vote because absentee ballots weren't allowed.



Cuba's leader and Prime Minister, FIDEL CASTRO, participates in his country's first election since revolutionary forces took power in 1959. Over 95 per cent of the people voted.

As a light rain fell here at 7:00 a.m. on October 10, lines of people were already waiting to cast their ballots for local representatives to 169 Municipal Assemblies. Polls in many areas were able to close hours ahead of schedule after every registered voter had voted by noon, Stephen Kinzer from *Pacific News Service* reports.

By telegraph, by horseback, even by carrier pigeon, results were reported to local headquarters and sent on to a specially equipped tabulation center in Havana.

At each of the more than 10,000 polling places, the voting boxes were symbolically guarded by children — an attempt by Cuban authorities to emphasize the contrast between these elections and those held before the revolution, when soldiers stood outside voting booths, rifles at the ready.

"In those days, there was always someone on the street offering you money, offering you a new pair of shoes or whatever to vote a certain way," said an old peasant as he waited in line near a garage turned polling place. "I won't say I never accepted their offers."

The Cuban elections are the result of a process that began six years ago, when Castro made several speeches calling for "the democratization of the revolutionary process." He complained that the administration of government in Cuba was becoming bureaucratized and overcentralized.

After five years of work, a new Cuban Constitution was approved by a national referendum early this year. The Constitution provides for a three-tiered legislative structure called "People's Power."

The newly elected Municipal Assemblies will have authority over neighborhood projects and a variety of local public works and public service projects.

In the weeks to come, delegates just elected will themselves elect members of 14 Provincial Assemblies and a National Assembly of People's Power which, according to the Constitution, will be the "supreme organ of state power."

Candidates had been nominated for the Municipal Assembly elections in late August by neighborhood assemblies across the country. At least two candidates were required on each ballot; on some as many as eight were approved, necessitating run-off elections on October 17 if no candidate received a majority.

More than 70 per cent of the candidates were members of the Communist Party or the Union of Young Communists, a fact that Castro said "demonstrates the authority and prestige among the masses that our Party members enjoy." Eight per cent of the candidates elected were women.

For weeks before the election,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22



Zimbabwean freedom fighter.

"The Target Of Our Bullets Is Exploitation"

Below, THE BLACK PANTHER presents the conclusion of an exclusive in-depth interview with Dzinashe Machingura, deputy political commissar of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA), the Mozambique-based guerrillas leading the armed struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe. The interview was conducted by the Mozambique Information Agency.

CONCLUSION

Q: The Smith regime's war communiques announce their casualties in terms of one or two deaths in an action. They have never admitted losing more than five soldiers in a single day. Does this bear any relation to the real situation?

MACHINGURA: Not at all. It is merely a camouflage to disguise their losses. If they were to admit the truth it would demoralize their supporters and their fighters. So they try as much as possible to minimize their losses and at the same time to exaggerate those of the guerrillas.

Q: Does ZIPA today have any relationship to the traditional nationalist organizations of Zimbabwe?

MACHINGURA: ZIPA is not in negation to the former traditional organizations in Zimbabwe. What ZIPA aims at is assimilating.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT OF SOUTH WEST AFRICAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION (S.W.A.P.O.)

SAM NUJOMA: "WE WILL SEIZE POWER IN NAMIBIA"

The following is Part 1 of an interview with Sam Nujoma, president of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), the vanguard revolutionary organization in Namibia that is waging the armed struggle against South African colonialism. The interview was conducted by the Liberation Support Movement (LSM) and is reprinted from the Guardian.

PART 1

(New York, N.Y.) - Sam Nujoma, president of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), hasn't been taken in by Washington's "new Africa policy."

The leader of Namibia's independence forces reiterated his organization's militant stand recently during a meeting in New York City with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Following this conference and a long, 14-hour day putting forward SWAPO's view at the U.N. and elsewhere, Nujoma — still relaxed and enthusiastic — sat down for an interview during which he elaborated on how to resolve the question of Namibia, which South Africa has illegally occupied for over a half-century.

Asked SWAPO's thoughts on Washington's new, sudden "concern" for southern Africa, the guerrilla leader responded:

TWO FACTORS

"There are two factors involved. Since realizing that the forces of racism, fascism and colonialism are no longer in a position to prevent the trend of history, Washington may be trying to create the impression that the American government is identifying with the oppressed peoples of southern Africa.

"Secondly, there are strategic interests. Washington would like to ensure that the new governments which emerge in southern Africa, more particularly in Zimbabwe and Namibia, will be under their sphere of influence. They would not like to see progressive governments there."

SWAPO's conditions for talking with South Africa are that the South African regime: recognize Namibia's right to independence and territorial integrity; make a commitment to remove all police and military from Namibia; release all political prisoners; remove the state of emergency and police state laws; and allow Namibian political leaders to return to the country.

Finally, SWAPO says that negotiations should be under the auspices of the U.N. and should aim at the holding of free elections.





SWAPO leader SAM NUJOMA (above) received a warm reception from the Cuban people during his recent visit. He was greeted at airport by Cuban official JUAN ALMEIDA.

For the past year, though, so-called constitutional talks have been taking place in Windhoek, capital of Namibia. Initiated by the South African government, these talks have been chaired by the local leader of (South African "Prime Minister" John) Vorster's Nationalist Party, Dirk Mudge, and are attended by selected tribal chiefs!

In August this group put forward a plan for the "independence" of Namibia by the end of 1978. Dirk Mudge is foreseen as being the first "prime minister," and the government would be based on the same apartheid system of ethnic/tribal representation. There was no mention of holding elections and the South African military would remain in the territory.

"SWAPO has rejected and condemned this scheme in Namibia," Nujoma said. "We will never participate in these tribal constitutional talks because it would be detrimental to the interests of the oppressed people of Namibia. . .The participants at these constitutional talks were hand-picked by the racist regime of South Africa. Some of them are not even traditional chiefs in the true sense, but are elements who have been working either as policemen or interpreters at the colonial offices.

"On the other hand, we know some traditional chiefs who, because of their opposition to the racist regime of South Africa, were deposed and replaced by South African appointees.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

AFRICA IN FOCUS

Namibia

A well-known Namibian chief and shopkeeper, regarded as South Africa's choice for the first Black president of an independent Namibia, has been accused by ex-CIA agent Philip Agee with having close ties with the Agency. According to Agee, Chief Clemens Kapuuo's companion and confidante, James Endicott, has a long history of CIA connections. In addition, the *Rand Daily Mail* of South Africa has charged Kapuuo of receiving hundreds of thousands of dollars from foreign backers interested in Namibia's abundant mineral resources. The *Daily Mail* said in a recent article that Kapuuo is being promoted by a U.S. advertising agency and that he retains an American attorney at the cost of several thousand dollars a week.

United Nations

More than 100 countries, members of the United Nations Committee on Trust and Non-Self Governing Territories, last week adopted a resolution condemning Israel, the U.S., Great Britain, France and West Germany for supplying South Africa with nuclear and military arms. The Committee, by a vote of 102-9, with 19 abstentions, forwarded the resolution to the U.N. General Assembly, specifically demanding that Israel and the four Western powers stop aiding South Africa in the production of uranium or providing the apartheid regime with nuclear reactors and military equipment.

Kenya

A great deal of attention has focused here on Nairobi's mayoral elections in which incumbent Margaret Kenyatta, daughter of Kenyan President Jomo Kenyatta, is seeking her fourth consecutive term. Ms. Kenyatta, widely known as a champion of women's rights in Africa, is being opposed by Deputy Mayor Andrew Ngumba, a prominent businessmen, in a race so heated that the scheduled August 12 election had to be indefinitely postponed. While mayor of Kenya's capital city, Ms. Kenyatta has denounced corruption, maladministration and favoritism in city government.



Delegates gather at Namibian "constitutional" conference.

BLACK AMERICAN LEADS U.S. DELEGATION TO "INDEPENDENCE" DAY

U.N. BARS CONTACTS WITH TRANSKEI







Chief KAISER MATANZIMA (inset) became the first "prime minister" of "independent" Transkei (see photo and map).

(United Nations, N.Y.) — As a 101-gun salute proclaimed the Transkei the newest "independent" Black African nation on October 26, the United Nations General Assembly overwhelmingly approved a resolution calling on member states to refrain from all "contacts" with the first South African "homeland" to be granted self-rule.

In Umtata, capital of the Transkei, South Africa (Azania) was the only country officially on hand to witness the raising of the reddish brown, white and green banner of the new nation. None of the 150 governments invited to attend the "independence" celebrations accepted although individuals from several countries were present, including Andrew Hatcher, the Black former assistant press secretary to President John F. Kennedy. Hatcher, who led the U.S. delegation to the Transkei, is the vice-president of a New York public relations firm that works for the White racist government of South Africa.

The U.N. resolution, approved by a vote of 134-0, was introduced by Nigerian U.N. Ambassador Leslie O. Harriman, on behalf of 39 African, Third World and other progressive countries. Harriman said in his remarks to the Assembly:

"It's a dark day, it's a day of mourning in much of Africa to note that early this morning puppet chiefs appointed by the South African racist regime proclaimed the birth of the Transkei."

The U.N. resolution denounces the declaration of "independence of the so-called Transkei" and declares it invalid; calls on governments to deny all form of recognition to the new state; and requests U.N. members to take "effective measures" to block all individuals, corporations and other institutions from having any dealings either with the Transkei or any other "homelands" granted autonomy in the future.

The U.S. abstained from voting on the grounds that the resolution implied economic sanctions by banning all business dealings. Remaining within the mainstream of international criticism of the Transkei, the U.S. has refused to recognize the new nation.

Led by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), progressive nations throughout the world have condemned the "independence" of the Transkei as nothing more than an extension of South

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

Racial Slurs Spark Black Walkout At Namibia Talks

(Windhoek, South West Africa) — Angered by a racial insult made by a White delegate to the sham "constitutional" talks here on establishing Black majority rule in Namibia (South West Africa), Black and Colored participants last week walked out of the meeting, saying they would not return until an apology was made.

"We are not going to allow this picnic game to go on any longer," said A.J.F. Kloppers, a member of the Colored (Namibians of mixed Black and European ancestry) delegation of the talks, declared. "This child's play must stop, and it will stop."

The incident that caused the uproar at the over one-year-long talks was triggered by the remarks of Eben van Zijl, one of the two senior members of the White delegation, the *New York Times* reported. Van Zijl and other White participants recently met in Pretoria, South Africa, with "Prime Minister" John Vorster. (South Africa illegally rules Namibia.)

Upon returning to Windhoek, van Zijl and his White allies refused to report to the "constitutional" conference — which includes 11 delegations composed of the various ethnic groups living in Namibia — what, if any decisions had been reached.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

Blacks Killed in South African "Township"

(Johannesburg, South Africa) South African riot police last week killed two Azanians and wounded two others in a Black "township" near Dundee, about 180 miles southeast of Pretoria, the country's capital.

OCTOBER 28

The October 28 incident occurred, according to General David Kriel, chief of the South African Riot Control Police, when a White government official went into the "township" to investigate a breakdown in electricity and water supplies, *Reuters* reported.

A crowd of about 150 Azanians, armed with sticks, Kriel said, surrounded the official. When an anti-riot squad was sent in to rescue the White man, Kriel said the crowd began stoning the squad. The police indiscriminately began firing on the people, killing two and wounding two others. The names of those slain were not reported.

Also last week, the South African government extended its ban on public meetings — introduced last June following the outbreak of Black political protests in Soweto — for another two months until December 31. The ban was scheduled to expire on October 30 and was extended under provisions of the Riotous Assemblies Act.

Meanwhile, two major U.S. arms manufacturers exporting "sporting goods" to dealers in South Africa are under investigation by the U.S. Justice Department for illegal shipments of handguns and rifles to the White apartheid regime.

The Connecticut-based companies, Colt Industries, Inc., of Hartford and the Winchester Division of Olin Corporation of Stanford, have admitted that they have violated the 14-year-old U.S. arms embargo of South Africa and have been illegally selling arms and ammunition to South Africa. Top officials of the two companies alleged that the sales were made by middle level personnel without the knowledge of management and that the guilty parties have been fired.

The illegal activities of Colt and Winchester were exposed in an extensive article appearing in the *New Haven Advocate*. The paper's editor, Chris Austin, told *Internews* that Colt and Winchester rifles and ammunition were sent to South Africa through West Germany, the Canary Islands off the northwest coast of Africa, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique before its independence in June, 1975.□

O.C.L.C.: A Haven For The Black Community

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

"We have always hoped that we could establish a place in our community where hundreds of ideas could grow and flourish, where people could feel free to say and do the things that seemed most natural to them. The Community Forum was created for that purpose, to serve in humankind's development. . . .

"Our belief is that every human being has the right to be free. We can all agree that we are not. Therefore, we come together to express our agreement on that belief every Sunday. . ."

In addition to the Free Film Series, other cultural activities at the OCLC include dance and drama programs.

Community support, special fund-raising activities, individual contributions and private foundation grants all help to maintain OCLC programs. Singer Oscar Brown, Jr., and actress/singer Aminata Moseka (Abbey Lincoln) are among the prominent entertainers who have performed at OCLC benefits, providing the community with outstanding, quality entertainment and drawing much needed funds for the Learning Center.

The backbone of the Learning Center is its all-volunteer staff. Joan Kelley, OCLC Programs director, points out that, "There is no such thing as an average volunteer" at the Learning Center. People with as diverse backgrounds as there are programs freely and enthusiastically give of their time to ensure that the OCLC effectively serves the community.

Although they receive no pay, some 150 people work as volunteers at the Learning Center — providing concrete evidence of the widespread support the institution has in East Oakland.

In coming weeks, we will examine in depth each of the programs at the Oakland Community Learning Center, programs that truly serve the needs of Oakland's Black and poor people who for too long have been ignored by this city's power structure.

TO BE CONTINUED



Past performers at OCLC Community Forum: THE VARIATIONS (above), JOHN LEE HOOKER (right) and the OCLC Martial Arts Team (bottom right).





BPINS photos

WORLD SCOPE

Marshall Islands

The U.S. military has created a de facto apartheid system here for Marshallese workers employed at the Kwajalein missile range. While 3,000 Americans on the Kwajalein island live in air-conditioned homes surrounded by a golf course and other recreational facilities, 7,000 Marshallese are packed everywhere on 70-acre Ebeye island — the highest population density in the Pacific. No Marshallese are allowed to live on Kwajalein and those working there must be off the island by 9:00 p.m. On neighboring Ebeye, there is one doctor for the entire community, no high school and seriously unsanitary living conditions. It is not uncommon for 10 to 20 people to be crowded into one of the 308 one-room apartments provided by the U.S. government.

India

Moslem leaders reported last week that police opened fire on thousands of unarmed villagers who were demonstrating in Muzaffarnagar (100 miles northeast of New Delhi) against the government's forced sterilization program. While a district magistrate who is in charge of the involuntary sterilization program claimed there was only "a minor scuffle," eyewitnesses report that between 50 to 150 people died in the incident.

U.S./Vietnam

The United States and Vietnam have agreed to open discussions aimed at the normalization of diplomatic relations between the two countries, it was announced last week. A statement from the Vietnamese embassy in Paris declared that Vietnam has agreed to a U.S. proposal "for an exchange of views on problems of interest to each side." The two countries have been exchanging diplomatic notes since March about beginning talks on their relations. The U.S. has demanded a full accounting of Americans "missing in action" from the Vietnam war while Vietnam has remained adamant in its insistence that the U.S. provide the reconstruction aid pledged in the 1973 Paris peace agreement and in a secret letter from former President Nixon. There was no announcement when or where the talks will begin.

Free The People

On that day in Destrehan
Unjustice was done to a Black man
A White kid was shot dead
They said get that nigger we'll have his
head. I don't know about you, but I say,
Free the Man.
Free the Black Man.
But also Free the People.
He didn't know what was going down,
He didn't know what was going down,
He didn't know who pulled the trigger.
But I tell you what,
They was gonna get them a nigger.
Free the Man.
Free the Black Man.
Free the People.
This was a perfect example of
daring
boldness
downright hatred and
Black discrimination
Put yourself in his place, can't say a
word, can't do a thing,
While the people of the system
Sit back with their potbellies and
Cigars and laughing those
niggers are scared.
Can't you see it's a challenge,
a test to see if you Blacks are really
serious about your liberation and
Freedom, your pride in
yourselves
and your brothers and sisters.
I say free the Man.
Free the Black Man.
Free the People
Do you want to Free this man
Do you want to show these
People that you are not some
appliance
or tool to be used and used until you
can't be used again.
Well you can't show them with
speeches, rallies and court
sessions and practically joining
in their little games and
begging them to set him free. No!
Even as much as this will sound hopeless,
I say free him the hard way, or don't
Free him at all.
Think on it, do you really have
pride in yourself.
You don't have to take this no!
Well you'll just go on taking it.
Please Free the Man.
Free the Black Man.
But also Free the People.

— Stanley Zimmerman
New Orleans, La.

ENTERTAINMENT

"SAVE AND SHAPE TOMORROW'S WORLD"

FREE SOUTHERN THEATER SPONSORS YOUTH PROGRAM

(New Orleans, La.) - The progressive Free Southern Theater's Summer Youth Program this past summer provided Central City New Orleans Black youth with a vitally needed outlet to express themselves through a comprehensive cultural awareness program.

The FST staff started the Summer Youth Program a year ago because it felt that the energies, talents, interests and importance of young people were being grossly neglected. The October issue of the *FST Voice* states:

"Most of the outlets open to them whereby they can express themselves center around sports activities and activities dealing with popular dancing and music. It is true that all of these things can be used as a mechanism by which our youth can be exposed to the desires, needs and struggles of our people.

"But the fact of the matter is that, in the main, neither of one of these activities is being used constructively."

The FST's first Summer Youth Program, in 1975, had the participation of 36 youth between the ages of 10-17, from New Orleans' Central City. After a summer of hard work and play the creative group developed songs, poems, dances and skits and combined them into a show entitled *Look for the Children.*

The 1975 group developed far beyond the program's expectations and this year the FST expanded the program to include 50 youth between the ages of eight and 18, primarily from Central City.

The concrete and positive example of the success of the 1976 program was the work done around the recent Gary Tyler march and rally. Motivated by a poem written by 17-year-old Stanley Zimmerman, the Black youths began to develop a skit about that day in Destrehan, Louisiana, when a White youth was shot and young Gary Tyler, who was on a bus going to school. (See poem, this page.)

At the end of this year's summer program, the youth put on two productions, *Destination Freedom* and *We Can Be.*

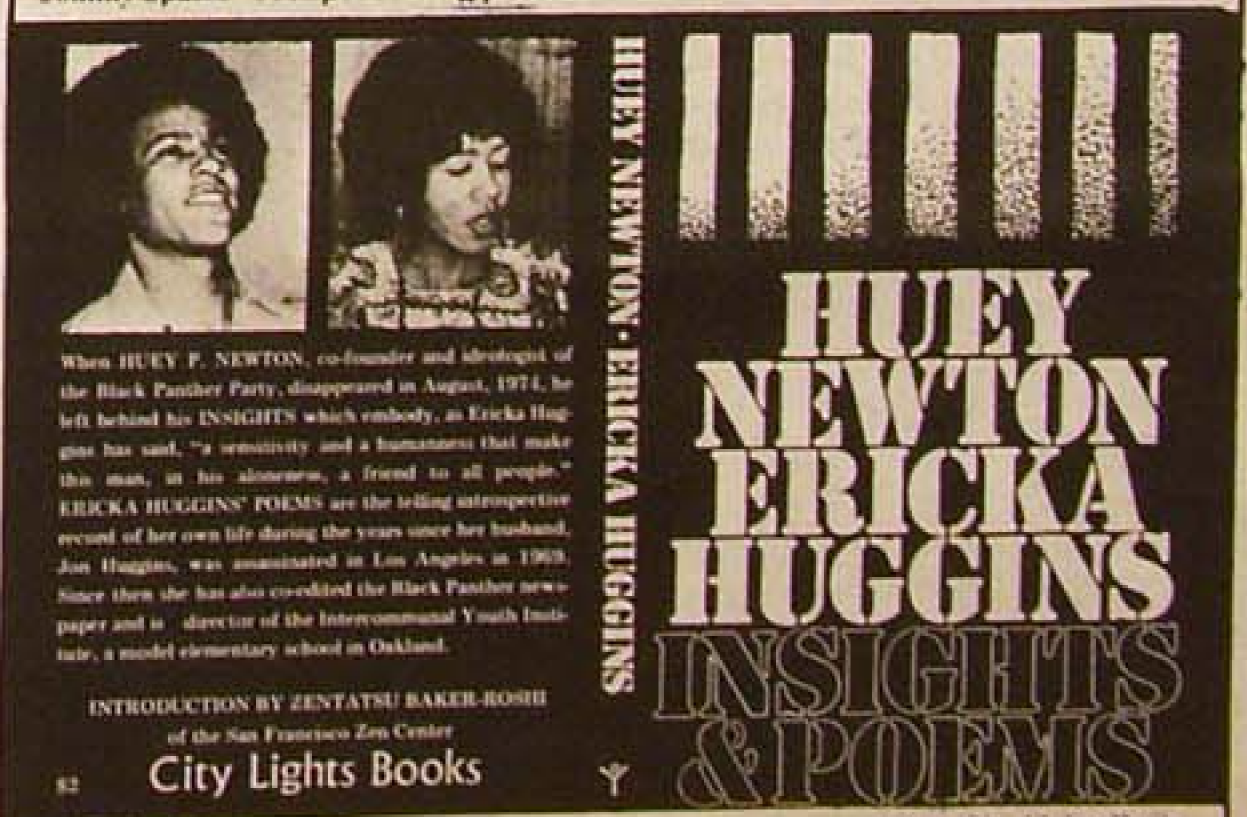
The Voice states, "We at the FST are proud of the young people who participated in the summer program because they're making a contribution now to save and shape tomorrow's world."

Presently the FST is in a serious fund-raising campaign, having fallen far short of its $30,000 goal. FST, "a theater for those who have no theater," wishes to continue to make its cultural contribution to the oppressed Black community. If you would like to make a contribution, please send it to: Free Southern Theater, 1328 Dryades Street, New Orleans, La. 70113, (504) 581-5091.□





FST staff member BEN SPILLMAN (above) invites audience to participate in Summer Youth Program production shown in these photos.



"We Will Seize Power"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

"So the crowd at Turnhalle (as the 'constitutional conference' is known) is very unpopular," Nujoma continued. "In fact, South Africa has troops guarding these tribal chiefs because so many of them have been beaten up and others even liquidated by the people. We understand that some members of the Turnhalle crowd are now in New York, but they are not seen because they are afraid.

"Last year when they came, there were demonstrations. These people are being accommodated by rich Americans who are exploiting Namibian natural wealth, and who are employing Namibians as cheap slave labor. This is really a very unpopular element. They are merely puppets of the racist South African regime.

"It is notable that the repressive laws in Namibia have remained and militarization has increased. The situation has gone from bad to worse. So one wonders: what kind of independence are we really going to have through these 'constitutional talks'?. . .We are convinced that what Vorster is doing is a delaying tactic in order to strengthen and consolidate his military position in Namibia. He wants to impose bantustans and 'separate development,' and to create mini-tribal states in Namibia which Pretoria will be in a position to manipulate and control."



SWAPO leader SAM NUJOMA received a warm reception from the Cuban people during his recent visit.

For tactical reasons, the South African government permits SWAPO some legal presence within Namibia. Rather than banning it outright, they instead repress and imprison individual leaders while trying to foment organizational disunity through harassment, infiltrating agents and other such tactics. Over the past year, while the so-called constitutional talks have been taking place, the efforts to portray a disunited SWAPO reached a peak. We asked President Nujoma about this.

"Yes," he began, "the racist regime of South Africa and its imperialist allies tried to create the impression that there is a distinct SWAPO internal wing. They even went to the extent of saying that our comrades inside were ready to go and participate in the tribal constitutional talks. They tried to create confusion within the rank and file of our movement and internationally.

TO BE CONTINUED

95 Per Cent Turnout For Cuba's "People's Power" Elections

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

the official Cuban press exhorted citizens to go to the polls "to vote for who can best serve the people." Local Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs) and specially constituted Electoral Commissions spread the word through neighborhood meetings and individual visits.

The CDRs deserve the lion's share of the credit for getting virtually all eligible voters to the polls.

Local CDRs worked for months to inform themselves and their neighbors of the details of the elections. They put up posters and distributed printed material describing the functioning of "People's Power."

On election day, CDR members (cederistas) were stationed at every polling place to ensure that all went smoothly. Presumably, they visited anyone who had not courage them to participate.

LOCAL C.D.R.S

In many areas, leaders of local CDRs were nominated and elect-voted by mid-afternoon to ened to Municipal Assemblies. And together with other mass organizations and the Communist Party, the CDRs are responsible for nominating candidates for the new Provincial and National Assemblies.

Castro has called the elections a "transcendental and historical act in the history of our country."

All Cubans apparently realize that whatever happens in the new People's Power Assemblies, the power to set the direction of government policy will remain with the Communist Party, which has about 200,000 members, something less than two per cent of the population.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the Cuban elections is what they represent: an attempt by Castro and his Party comrades to provide an enduring structure of "socialist democracy" in Cuba.□



Cuban peasants lining up to vote in recent elections.

INSIDE LATIN AMERICA

Cuba

Cuban officials told a group of visiting liberal Republicans here recently that the body of an American U-2 spy-plane pilot has been preserved in a block of ice for 13 years. Cuban officials informed the group, the Republican Ripon Society, that the U.S. government is aware of the body and that it could only be obtained through official channels.

Argentina

Argentina military forces, reports *Pacific News Service*, are resorting to Vietnam war-style tactics, including community action programs and strategic hamlets, in efforts to rout guerrilla forces. These new tactics suggest that popular support of the guerrillas is widespread. Recent reports indicate that nearly half the population supports the Monteneros and ERP guerrillas.

Colombia

A village of pygmies, called Yukos, was discovered here recently by a group of journalists recently returned from the mountains of the Motilones. The journalists report that the village, the precise location of which has eluded anthropologists until now, is being encroached upon by colonizing farmers who have brutally exploited the pygmies.

Argentina

A group of Uruguayan refugees who recently escaped to Paris from Argentina claim that 600 Uruguayan army personnel have been dispatched to Argentina to terrorize and eliminate Uruguayan refugees there. According to a letter smuggled out of Buenos Aires and recently received by the London-based Amnesty International, Uruguayan and Argentine security forces are operating under a plan to eliminate all Uruguayans of left-wing tendencies in both countries.

SPORTS

INTERVIEW WITH TEOFILO STEVENSON, PREMIER CUBAN BOXING CHAMPION

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents Part 1 of an interview with Teofilo Stevenson, the very popular 24-year-old Black Cuban fighter, conducted by Sandra Levinson and reprinted from Black Sports *magazine.*

PART 1

Teofilo Stevenson holds all the titles granted by the International Association of Amateur Boxing. Central American, Pan American, World and Olympic champion. He started boxing in 1966, and in 1970 competed in Bulgaria in the Olympic Hopes, after which he toured Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia before participating in the 1971 Pan American Games. After his 1972 Olympics victory over U.S. boxer Duane Bobick, Stevenson was widely quoted for rejecting a two million dollar offer to turn pro with the statement that, "The millions of Cubans mean more to me than dollars."

Stevenson doesn't usually live in Havana — he lives in Oriente Province — but he was staying with an aunt while training for the Pan American Games (where he walked off with a gold medal.) He's an easy-going man who seems pleased with his fame but not overwhelmed by it, and appears just as proud of his family as of his own boxing success. His father in Puerto Padre, now retired, is president of the local block committee, part of the nationwide network of committees for the Defense of the Revolution. His two sisters are studying (as is Stevenson when he's not traveling outside of Cuba to box in international competitions). Both of his brothers, one a stevedore, the other a student, play baseball.

No great lover of boxing — Stevenson plays baseball and basketball on Cuban teams as well. He told me he's never really analyzed his punches and says he works well with both hands and that he'll continue boxing as long as he feels in condition and then he'll quit.



Cuba's TEOFILO STEVENSON (right), Olympic heavyweight champion, pummels JOHN TATE of the U.S. on his way to an Olympic gold medal.

Q: What made you want to become a boxer?

STEVENSON: I used to watch the athletes in Puerto Padre. I'd go and watch them play baseball, I'd watch the boxers spar. Boxing is a sport that gets you all excited and I'd get excited just like everybody else.

One day in 1966, I decided to put on gloves. It was the very first time. There was a kid there who had a lot of training and I traded a few punches with him. When I took off the gloves, the trainer, who had been watching, talked with me and asked me to take up boxing. But I said that I preferred baseball. He told me that I was just wasting my time with baseball but said, "Okay, so you like baseball, you can do both," and I said, "Okay, if I don't have to give up baseball — but when there's a championship game, it's baseball for me." And that's how we left things.

But at that moment, he knew something I didn't know, that the boxing championship would be held before the baseball championships. And I began to practice. Two weeks before the regional boxing championships, we had to leave to train — I was a bit worried because the regional baseball championships were going to be held around that time and I was afraid I wouldn't be back in time. But everyone assured me I'd be back. So I fought my first match and won, and there I was, right in the middle of the championships.

Q: What do you think of the boxing you've seen in other countries?

STEVENSON: My first trip abroad was to compete in 1970 in the Olympic Hopes Tournament in Bulgaria. I won the gold medal, three matches by kayos. I beat a Soviet, German, and a Rumanian. Something interesting happened there — I thought I wouldn't find anyone taller than I am, but there was a Soviet taller, and a German who was taller than both of us. It turned out that I was one of the shortest; only the Rumanian was shorter. I'm 6-3½, they were all 6-4 and 6-5, and they moved very well in the ring, using the European style which is very different from Cuba's, from the Latin style of boxing, which is very aesthetic, very elegant.

DIFFERENCE

Q: What's the difference, as you see it, between boxing in Cuba and professional boxing in the U.S.?

STEVENSON: First of all, boxing in Cuba is organized the same as all other sports, according to categories. Fifteen-year-olds play in one category, older players in another, and so on, the same as in all countries. You move from one category to another, depending on your age and the matches you've competed in. Here in Cuba the rules are really followed, not like it is in other countries where they fool around with requirements out of self-interest. Ignoring the rules can have tragic results.

In Cuba, it's traditional to attend sports events, to give them the attention they deserve. There are always exceptions, of course, and even before the Revolution there were those who were against professional boxing, including some who liked the sport. Then there was the other point of view, those who couldn't imagine the sport without professionalism, who thought athletes should play professionally and nothing else.

TO BE CONTINUED



O.C.L.C. Martial Arts At Calif. Championships

(Oakland, Calif.) — Students from the Oakland Community Learning Center (OCLC) All-Open Martial Arts Program made a good showing last week at the California State Karate Championships at the Oakland Auditorium.

Although OCLC students failed to capture a trophy in this event, which featured the top amateur karate competitors in the state, they made a very credible showing. BOBBY DENTON (left, above) was one of the participants from the OCLC team.

Participants from the OCLC Martial Arts Program ate free lunches from the Black Panther Party Free Food Program. The emblem and the uniforms they wore were specially prepared in celebration of the Black Panther Party's 10th Anniversary. BPINS photo

N.A.A.C.P.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

in the NAACP or your organization, for example. It's the same idea as killing off the leaders or at least the people who are trying to make some kind of advancement.

I think that because of the position the NAACP takes with regard to civil rights, we find that this is a situation that should not be allowed to exist. If it means spending whatever monies are necessary to go to the Supreme Court, then I'm sure that this is where we're going.

Q: How does the NAACP respond to criticism by some people in the Black community that it is not enough of an activist organization?

HALL: We respond to it by looking at our track record. We're over 67 years old as an organization. If you look at the cases that have been won over the years, the legislative struggles that have been won on the local, state and national levels — if you look at the organizations that have been involved in that particular kind of struggle, you'll find that these are the durable ones.

Painful steps have to be taken in order to ensure that the law is doing what it should be doing. Sometimes it's a political struggle, sometimes it's a legal struggle. We have the flexibility *of going either way.*

TACTICS

Q: Has the NAACP changed its tactics during the last 10 years since the civil rights movement was in its heyday?

HALL: We've always fought in the courts. We have found that by attacking the laws through the courts, at least there is a reasonable chance of getting a remedy that will last, that will be upheld.

There's always a problem of enforcement, however. The courts can rule in your favor, but there's nobody out there monitoring on a day-to-day basis to see that that law is not violated.

School desegregation is an example of this. Even when Blacks and Whites are going to the same school, you've got to have somebody monitoring what's happening in the classroom, monitoring the quality of education that's coming out of the classroom.

We've found from our experience that progress is painfully slow. It requires a great machinery to hold the gains that we've achieved without some kind of monitoring. I see us moving in that way as far as our next growth is concerned, toward some kind of permanent monitoring mechanism.□

Becomin' "First Class" Citizens In Mississippi Delta

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

calmed his voice. 'Don't walk on the grass, get on the edge of the curb and walk onto the sidewalk and go in there and do what you gonna do.'

"I went in there and set down. Lady said, 'What can I do for you?' I said I come to redish to vote. 'Register to vote?' I said, 'Yes, maam.' She said, 'Well, Mr. McClennan, he isn't here.' I said, 'Well can I wait till he come in here?' She say, 'Yeah.' I stay there till 12 o'clock. He hadn't showed up. So she says, 'Lunch now. I'm goin' to lunch.' I said well I'm goin' too and I'll be back after lunch.

"So right at 1 o'clock I come back. He was in there. She had done told him. He said, 'What can I do for you, Turnbow?' I said, 'I come to redish to vote.' He said, 'Redish to vote?' I say, 'Yes, sir, redish to vote.' He just handed me the book. I stood there and filled out them questions, handed it back to him, and came on out.

"So all of us redished to vote and left. Didn't none of us get beat up, but hit might of been more trouble if there wasn't an FBI there at the crowd watchin'. And everything that was said he was a-writin' it."

The right of Black people to vote was won through years of hard struggle and sacrifice.



Four or five nights later Turnbow and his wife and their youngest daughter returned home from a citizenship meeting at the church. Their dog was missing. They went to bed.

"Round 'bout 1 o'clock they throwed two firebombs right through that window in here. Burned all the shades off the wall and scotched a hole in the ceiling. And then they throwed a firebomb in the back living room. And then commenced to shootin'. There are bullet holes right there.

"My wife and daughter, they run out, but I didn't run out till I got my rifle. I got my rifle and then I run out. No sooner'd I run out than a guy started shootin' at me, and I started shootin' at him. So they run on off, and then we put the fire out and then after that we went down to some boys and told 'em to call the Justice Department in Washington, D.C."

That night the Holmes County) sheriff came to Turnbow's house and arrested him.

"He said didn't no people come in here and shoot and firebomb this house. Say I firebombed it myself. Say I shot it full of holes myself, and I'se just a liar. And they put me in jail and I stayed in jail two nights."

Justice Department attorney John Doar intervened and the charges against Turnbow were dropped as groundless.

As for today, Turnbow continues farming, just making do and proud that all four of his children are doing far better than he ever did.

"Far as I'm concerned, it cooled off for me. All the White people that knowed me, they treated me just like they always have. I never did have any more trouble. Today the civil right done come and stirred up everybody's eyes, and a whole lot of folks done learned his rights, what belong to him, what oughta be and what oughtn'd to be. It's his rights just like anybody else."□





BPINS photos

Rev. JAMES KING (inset) led a forceful group of speakers against police abuse at a packed Richmond City Council meeting. A community coalition demanded immediate action on their demands.

Protest Richmond Police Brutality

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

asked the Council to rescind a recent ordinance which called for the destruction of police records every two years.

If the Council did not act on its own, he emphasized, a lawsuit would be filed in the very near future.

One of the high points of the evening occurred when a spokesman from a Black Richmond motorcycle club — the Scorpions — recounted how Richmond police attacked their club members recently. To prove his point another member of the motorcycle club showed the Council large gashes and bumps in his scalp, which resulted from a police beating.

SUBJECT

Wisely, the Council agreed to bring the subject up at another meeting, within three weeks. In the interim work would begin to establish various meetings with city departments along with public housing, throughout the city. The first meeting with the city's Public Safety Committee is scheduled for this week.

Everyone involved with this protest was pleased with the results they achieved but acknowledged that persistent pressure must continue to be applied.□

"Niggers" Barred

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5
Whites-only policy.

According to Hugh Carter, Jimmy's cousin, the exclusionary resolution bars membership to "Negroes and other civil rights agitators." But Rev. Edwards said that in the discussion Tuesday night, the deacons referred to "niggers and other civil rights agitators." As a result of his public disclosure, Edwards is said to be facing a move to fire him at the next board meeting.

Carter, who has been frequently called upon during his campaign to deny any sympathy for the segregationist views of some of his fellow townspeople — as well as denying his own "ethnic purity" remarks — and who allegedly cast the sole vote against the racist policy, steadfastly refused to resign from the church.

He said, reminiscent of his notorious *Playboy* interview: "I steadfastly believe the best approach is to stay and work from within. . .My allegiance is to God."

Miss Lillian, Carter's aged mother, displayed her neighborhood redneck streak with the comment that she had invited Blacks to the church and had "given them a seat in the front row. They have their own church and it's just as pretty as ours."

The entire flap, however, was best summed up by Vernon Jordan, executive director of the National Urban League, who said, "The issue isn't whether Blacks can worship in a Plains church, but whether they can get a decent job at a decent wage."□

George, Dellums, Measures P, Q, and R Triumph

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5
election bought by the big money growers who falsely injected the question of "property rights" into the "human rights" issue of farmworkers' self-determination;

•The defeat of Proposition 13, as the possibility of greyhound dog racing in California was put off for a few years;

•S.I. Hayakawa, who in the last days of his campaign, advocated sending U.S. troops to Africa, won a slim victory over John Tunney;

•The victory by very reactionary Patrick Moynihan for U.S. senator in New York State; and

•The defeat, in several states, of initiatives which would have put strict safeguards on nuclear power plants.□

Letters to the Editor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

Position Paper (Continued)

In Black communities throughout America there are many such puppets. Nowhere is this more glaring than with prison regimes headed by so-called Blacks with a predominantly Black personnel, particularly the Maryland Penitentiary.

The Md. Pen. sits in the heart of Baltimore's ghetto. Its structure is of the medieval era — built around 1800 — a seemingly strong gray fortress. Many people see it passing by in cars, trucks and bicycles and don't realize what it is! One could walk by its West Wing anytime of day and see a prisoner's loved one hollering through the window to him. Or Sisters hollering in rapping to the Brothers and giving their name and address. Or someone who was kind enough to stop, listen and make a personal phone call for a brother.

The warden and assistant Warden are "Black." Most of the brass — captains, lieutenants and sergeants — are "Black," guards who have "made their bones" through loyalty in the brutalization and torture of Black prisoners, primarily. The Md. Pen's prison population is 90 per cent Black. But the shot-callers, from the Dept. of Correction's Commissioner to the governor's office, are all White!

The Md. Black legislative Caucus greatly influenced the appointment of the Black warden and perpetuates the position of the Black assistant warden, a man who is a tyrant by all standards and whose dismissal has been demanded constantly by the prison population. Even the guard force hates this man, McLindsey Hawkins, while fearing him at the same time.

Since prison is a microcosm of the larger community, it too has its various elements among the population, including progressive organizations. One such organization is the Md. Pen Intercommunal Survival Collective (MPISC). For six years the MPISC has been in the vanguard inside the Pen. Its members are Black and they have been the primary target of the prison administration's repression, harassment, brutality and torture.

Its members, regardless of their individual achievements, are the least considered for parole or transfer to a lesser security institution.

Despite selective repression against the MPISC in general and individual members and outstanding supporters in particular, it remains the most stable and respected organization in the Md. Pen. This is attributed to strict adherence to the principles of people's struggle; its constant struggle to unite the prison population across racial and philosphical boundaries around the daily increasing issues of Survival. At the same time, the MPISC was instrumental in the formation of the Prisoners Solidarity Committee (PSC) within the Md. Pen.

The combined efforts of MPISC and PSC to get the word out — to expose the atrocities occurring within the Pen. — to the community at large has thus far met with little support, particularly from those community-based elements who consider themselves progressive — even revolutionary. It's quite a paradox considering the geographic location of the Pen. and, considering the fact that most U.S. congressman reside in the state of Maryland while congress is in session.

The Black Panther Party is practically the only international organization that recognizes and supports the prison movement constantly in words and deeds — unlike the majority of other progressive organizations which, like the establishment media, run to the scene upon a sensational upheaval of resistance. The BPP, from the perspective of prisoners, continuously reaffirms its true revolutionary character through its consistent recognition, support and devotion to oppressed people everywhere. In doing so, it in turn receives the growing love and esteem such a Vanguard Party deserves.

The prison movement is a valid integral part of the overall movement to transform the Amerikan society. It has exemplified its courage and audacity consistently against overwhelming odds, unarmed, immobile and defenseless! Yet, the prison movement in the state of Md. goes on practically unnoticed and unsupported by local grassroots organizations.

Each level of organization, each stage of advancement by political activists within the prison population are set back by the little fascist neocolonialists and their KKK counterparts who make up the prison administration. The setbacks are rendered at whim primarily because of lack of community support.

Given the geographical location of the Md. Pen, it should be one of the most — if not the most — "reformed" penal institutions in Amerika today. That is, in terms of "rehabilitation." But if we accept George Jackson's definition of fascism as "economic reform" then, such a definition is confirmed by arrangements at the Md. Pen. But it's only reflective of the lack of progressive organizations in the Baltimore community surrounding the Md. Pen.

The MPISC and PSC reaffirm their commitment to the prison movment in alliance with the international struggle against imperialism. Though self-reliant and determined, the MPISC in coalition with PSC recognizes the law of interdependency and thus recognizes that our effectiveness is determind by the level of consistent community support. . .SO LET IT BE DONE! ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!!

In Struggle. . .to FREEDOM,
Maryland Penitentiary Intercommunal Survival Committee
Prisoners Solidarity Committee

Namibian Talks Stalled

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19
Challenged by a Black representative to the talks, Richard Xoagub, to state what the position of the Whites was, van Zijl said in arrogantly racist remarks:

. . .we three Whites (van Zijl, A.H. du Plessis and Dirk Mudge) sitting here. . .represent 100,000 Whites in this country who in the mind of Mr. Xoagub do nothing but oppress the Black and Brown people of South-West Africa. But in our view, they are the people that can look with pride on the contribution they made toward the destiny of this country. . .

"Who is it that pulled you (Black people) *out of the mud? The White people of this country and the White people of South Africa. Who is that dragged you out of the mountains and put clothes on you? The White people of this country."*

The incident occurred as Black and White delegates unanimously agreed to write a draft constitution for an interim government in Namibia within the next few weeks. Last August, the conference set a target date of December 31, 1978, for full independence. The United Nations Security Council, in a resolution passed last January, directed South Africa to hold U.N.-supervised elections in the territory by August 31, 1976, and to immediately turn over power to the Black majority population of the country. The Vorster regime has repeatedly violated U.N. directives on Namibia.

Last week, a Security Council resolution calling for economic sanctions against South Africa for its failure to grant independence to Namibia was vetoed by the U.S., Great Britain and France.

The U.N. recognizes the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) as the sole legitimate representative of the nearly 900,000 Black people of Namibia. The world body does not recognize the "constitutional" talks which SWAPO has boycotted, charging that those Namibians who are participating are tools of the White minority regime.

Kloppers, described by the *New York Times* as "the most articulate spokesman of the new militancy" at the talks, said, "The White delegation still has the master-servant attitude. The whole thing is on an unequal basis. They fight from a power base, and we have no base at all. . ."

The talks are scheduled to resume on November 9.□



Zimbabwe freedom fighters prepare to attack the Ian Smith regime.

"The Target Of Our Bullets Is Exploitation"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

synthesizing and espousing the progressive revolutionary content of these former organizations.

Q: What is the basis of disunity among the former leaders of the nationalist organizations? Is it tribal, political or what?

MACHINGURA: As far as we are concerned, the basis of disunity among the former leaders of the nationalist organizations is political ambition and power struggle, though this might manifest itself as tribal differences or political differences. Tribal, in the sense that in creating a power base they seek to place people belonging to their own ethnic group in key positions, in strategic positions, so as to prepare a secure power base which serves as a springboard to gain political ascendance. This disunity also manifests itself politically, inasmuch as they put forward political slogans to try to win the support of the broad masses of the people. But we should emphasize that their differences are essentially not ideological at all. Ideologically they belong to the same camp.

Q: An economic plan has been drawn up with the collaboration of the United States government concerning economic guarantees for settlers after the formation of an African government in Zimbabwe. What are your views on this plan?

MACHINGURA: First of all, this so-called economic plan is a direct result of the intensification of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe.

We are totally opposed to the so-called economic plan. It falls far short of our objectives. We are not fighting for economic or political reforms. We are fighting for the total transformation of the Zimbabwean society.

To us the economic plan is doubly ridiculous. First, the United States wishes to pay compensation to the racists for the termination of their exploitation. Secondly, the United States purports to be supporting the struggle for majority rule, while the U.S. government itself is oppressing millions and millions Zimbabwean people under "majority" rule.

The United States and other imperialist powers see their interests threatened and they are determined to stamp out the revolutionary flame before it is too late. The so-called economic plan aims at creating a socio-economic climate conducive to the continued exploitation of the of people in its own country. They would do better to make use of the money in alleviating the economic burden of the broad masses in their own country, who live a life far worse than that of Rhodesian Whites.

Q: Do you think anything will come out of Kissinger's and Vorster's "shuttle diplomacy" in Africa?

"SHUTTLING"

MACHINGURA: They are definitely "shuttling" with a purpose, working out a plan to sabotage our struggle. We think they will produce some formula aimed at containing the struggle. But we are prepared for them and we are quite sure that whatever they do will fail. All their schemes will be stillborn.

Q: What is ZIPA's attitude toward elements in the traditional leadership of the Zimbabwe nationalist movement who compromise themselves by supporting imperialist plans to continue the system of exploitation after majority rule?

MACHINGURA: We are not racialists. We are not fighting against the Smith regime simply because they are White. We are fighting against the system that they are perpetrating and defending. If any Zimbabweans collude with them in oppressing the Zimbabwean people, we shall bundle them together, we shall make no distinction on the basis of color.

Q: There is a great deal of international support for the Zimbabwean liberation struggle. What form would you like to see this solidarity taking? What material support do the freedom fighters need and how should it be channeled?

MACHINGURA: We would like to see this support encompassing primarily political support and moral support, material support, financial support and diplomatic support. The material support we receive from the international community should serve to create a material base for self-reliance within our own army. We would like to receive more arms, training facilities as long as they help us to be more self-reliant. As far as support for our struggle is concerned, because of the geographic and strategic location of Mozambique, we would appreciate it if all aid was channelled through Mozambique to the fighters.

MATERIAL NEEDS

Among our material needs is medical aid. The need for medicines has been compounded by the development of the war inside Zimbabwe. We need medicine not only for the fighters, but also for the masses who are in our operational area. The Smith regime is no longer servicing them with any medicine. We are catering for their medical needs. What we would like to receive in this field is medicines to cure common diseases suffered by our masses in the operational areas; diseases like malaria, diarrhoea, cholera and many others.

We would also like to have support for educational facilities. We have young people who need to be educated since they had no opportunity for this in our country. □

U.N. Bars Contacts With Transkei

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

Africa's apartheid policy of "separate development." Now that the Transkei has been granted self-rule, members of the Xhosa tribe — whose "homeland" is considered the Transkei — may give up their South African citizenship and become citizens of the Transkei. Some Xhosas have never lived in the Transkei and have no ties with it other than tribal origins.

United Press International reported that an estimated 10,000 people fled the Transkei shortly before October 26, saying that they had no future there.

The South African government, *Internews* reported, paid all expenses for at least 100 private guests, mostly businessmen and journalists from reactionary Latin American countries and Western Europe, who attended the Umtata celebration. Andrew Hatcher's company, the New York-based Sydney S. Baron Public Relations Agency, has a one-year $365,000 contract with the South African government. The Baron Company and the South African Embassy in Washington, D.C., refused to divulge the names of the Americans whom Hatcher led in Umtata.

Sixty-one-year old Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima is the first "prime minister" of the Transkei. Prior to the September 29 elections in the Xhosa "homeland," Matanzima rounded up all opponents of his National Independence Party and threw them in jail, thereby ensuring his party's rule of the country.

The *Sunday Times* of Johannesburg, South Africa, has run a series of articles exposing the corrupt activities of Matanzima and his brother George, the new "foreign minister." The *Times* charges that companies owned by the Matanzima brothers bought hotels from the Bantu Trust, a South African government agency that assists Black businesses.

Meanwhile, *Pacific News Service* reports that an American attorney is playing a key advisory role in drafting the constitution of the Transkei.

Albert Blaustein, a professor of constitutional law at Rutgers University and a consultant to the New York City law firm of Nierenberg, Zeis and Weinstein, refuses to reveal the name or names of those who have secured his services. He maintains that he has accepted no payment for his work but has admitted that his travel to the Transkei was paid by the South African government. □



** "WAKE UP BLACK AMERICA, 1976" **















John George for Supervisor campaign rally: (A) JOHN GEORGE, DOLORES HUERTA, RON DELLUMS and ELAINE BROWN; (B) Overflow crowd of 1,500 West Oakland residents; (C, D, E) Participants in rally receiving the 1,000 bags of free groceries distributed by the Black Panther Party; (F) The URBAN RENEWAL BAND and (G) Volunteers from the People's Free Medical Clinic conducting free health screeing.

BPINS photos